

*Per. Pub. London*  
*Biographical and Imperial Magaz.*  
INTERESTING COLLECTION

*L of with vol 1. of the Magazine.*  
MODERN LIVES;

WITH

OBSERVATIONS OF THE CHARACTERS AND WRITINGS,

OF THE FOLLOWING

EMINENT MEN,

JEFFREY LORD AMHERST,  
MR. JOHN HOWARD,  
DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
BARNARD GATES, Esq.  
JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq.  
AND MR. THOMAS PAINE,

AUTHOR OF THE  
RIGHTS OF MAN, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH THE HEADS OF SEVERAL OF THE ABOVE,  
FINELY ENGRAVED.

---

London:

PRINTED FOR G. RIEBAU, No. 439, STRAND.

---

1792.





---

# BIOGRAPHIA ADDENDA,

A N  
INTERESTING COLLECTION

O F  
M O D E R N L I V E S.

---

## JEFFERY, LORD AMHERST.

**J**EFFERY, since Lord, Amherst, is the second son of the late Jeffery Amherst, Esq. a gentleman who, though bred to the law, inherited from a very respectable ancestry, a freehold estate at Riverhead, near Seven Oaks, and whose family is equally esteemed from its descent, and for the considerable surrounding families, to which it is related by matrimonial alliances. The elder brother of the present lord dying unmarried, the estate of course descended to him. But Mr. Amherst was born to give lustre to his family, not to receive it from paternal possessions. With that juvenile enthusiasm with which great minds are frequently attached to particular pursuits, and without which no one ever became illustrious in any, he at a very early period made choice of the profession of arms, and in a happy hour was received into the service of his country. Having passed through the inferior gradations with honour to himself, and to those who promoted him, and having displayed, in some respects, those early promises of military talents, which afterwards distinguished him on the other side of the Atlantic, he at length obtained the command of a regiment. After this a war breaking out between France and England, of which North America was the principal theatre, his lordship was appointed to serve in that country, where he soon had opportunities of displaying his talents as a general officer. The courage and military abilities which entitled him to the trust thus reposed in him, were not long unattested by the fears of his enemies, and the acclamations of his country. It is not the intention of the present article to enumerate all the victories of this brave and fortunate soldier: the following, among

A

the

the most important, are sufficient to evince the value of the commander, and to insure the gratitude of his country. In the summer of 1758, he undertook the expedition against Louisbourg; which, together with the island of Cape Breton, on which it is situated, in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, surrendered with all its dependencies to his victorious arms on July 26th, 1758. This important conquest not only deprived the enemy of an important place of strength, on which the prosperity of their most valuable possessions in America depended, as it was the guardian and protector of their trade in that part of the world, but it also put Great Britain in possession of the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence, cut off France from the advantages of her fishery, and thereby considerably distressed her West India Islands, and finally opened the road for the reduction of Canada. The same campaign was distinguished by another very important achievement: for in the month of November following, a plan being laid by this vigilant general for the capture of fort Du Quesney, one of the keys of Canada, situated on the Lakes; and the execution being intrusted to brigadier general Forbes, the assault proved successful, and the fortress was accordingly captured: measures being conducted at the same time with so much spirit and wisdom, that the Indians were so far detached from the alliance of the enemy, as to give no obstruction to the expedition. In the ensuing campaign another strong station was reduced, under the prudent auspices of this assiduous officer. Sir William Johnson, to whom the command of the expedition against Niagara devolved, in consequence of the accidental death of brig. gen. Prideaux, on the 24th July, 1759, having defeated and taken M. d'Aubrey near that place, the fort surrendered the next day. This important victory and capture, threw the whole of the Indian fur trade into the hands of the English; and also secured the British dominions behind it from the incursions of the scalping parties, and, in short, from all hostile annoyance.

Some time before this, general Abercrombie had made an unsuccessful attempt on Ticonderoga, in which, together with a considerable number of men, the British army had been robbed of those gallant and respected young officers, Lord Howe, and colonel Roger Townshend. But it now, on the 26th of July, 1759, the day after the reduction of Niagara, confessed the power and fortune of the British arms, and surrendered its important fortresses. Thus was the way cleared for the subjection of Canada; and accordingly we find, that on the 14th of the following month, the long and obstinately disputed post of Crown Point surrendered to the British forces; the 18th of the ensuing September beheld the chief settlement of the enemy in this  
part



part of the globe, the ever to be remembered Quebec, surrender upon capitulation to our commanders; and in the month of August, 1760, the French army evacuating Isle au Noix, abandoning the Isle Gal-  
lot, and Picquet's Island, at the approach of general Amherst, Isle Royale being captured by him, and Montreal, the last remaining post of the foe, surrendering on the 8th of September following, the whole province became subject to the British government. In the mean time the Island of Newfoundland having been reduced by the French, general Amherst projected an expedition for its recovery. The command of this was intrusted to the late major general William Amherst (then lieutenant colonel) who giving effect and action to the plan which his brother had formed, happily restored the island to its British owners, and captured the various garrisons which had been stationed by the enemy in the respective posts. General Amherst now seeing that the whole continent of North America was reduced in subjection to his country, returned to New York, the capital of the British empire there, to receive all those honours which a grateful people can shower on the vindicators of their rights and glory. His arrival was celebrated by public rejoicings, and every testimony of popular applause; and the corporation presented him with a gold box, containing the freedom of that city: a gift rendered the more gracious by the animated and elegant address of the mayor, in which he enumerated some of the principal services which the general had performed for his country, and expatiated on the grateful sense of his worth which his conduct had inspired in the bosoms of all. Nor was the English government entirely unmindful of his merits and his services. The thanks of the house of commons had already been transmitted to him; and among other honourable testimonies of approbation, in 1761, he was created one of the knights companions of the most honourable order of the Bath. He had also some time before been appointed commander in chief of all the forces in America, and governor general of the British provinces there. But shortly after the peace was concluded, he resigned his command, and returned to England, arriving in London in December, 1763. The commander whose exploits have added lustre to his name, and aggrandized the power of his country, and who has neither embroiled himself with party disputes, nor stooped to be the tool of a faction, can never fail of a gracious reception from an amiable sovereign to whom he has devoted his talents and his labours. His majesty accordingly received his conquering general, like one whose services demanded something beyond the usual formula of gracious approbation; and the government of the province of Virginia was conferred on him, as the



first mark of that royal favour which he had merited and obtained. In the year 1768, he was appointed colonel of the 3d regiment of foot, with permission to continue also his command of the 60th, or royal American regiment, of four battalions; and in October, 1770, he was appointed governor of the island of Guernsey, and the cattle of Cornet, together with all other islands, forts, and dependencies thereunto belonging. To these was added the office of lieutenant general of the ordnance, in October 1772; at which time he was sworn of the privy council. From this period also to the beginning of the year 1782, he officiated as commander in chief of the English forces, though he was not promoted to the rank of general in the army till March, 1778; from which period, to the time of his resignation in March, 1782, he acted as eldest general on the staff of England. Till his military promotion in 1778, he had no higher appointment in the army than that of eldest lieutenant general on the English staff. In the year 1780, he resigned the command of the 3d regiment of foot, and was promoted to the 2d troop of horse-grenadiers. Besides the military honours already mentioned, general Amherst received from his royal master on the 20th of May, 1776, the dignity of British peerage, by the title of Baron Amherst, of Holmesdale, in the county of Kent. Nor was he, who in former times had been the ornament and glory of Britain in a distant climate, and a dangerous camp, doomed to rest at home without power or opportunity of doing essential service to his country. It is not intended here to be discussed how far the administration of that time were blameable for not causing effective means to be used more early for checking the riots in June, 1780, when a desperate band of robbers, under the stale pretence of religion, committed the most daring and shocking depredations on the peace and security of a metropolis filled with troops of disciplined foldiers, and boasting of a regular police. But the honour of suppressing, with little bloodshed, this outrageous mob of depredators, who had already begun to lay the inhabitants of the metropolis under contribution, had destroyed the public gaols, released and recruited themselves with the prisoners, and were preparing to plunder the Bank, is to be attributed to the prudent conduct of Lord Amherst. It was he who, according to the duty of his office, planned and caused to be executed those measures, which checked the progress of anarchy and devastation, and restored tranquillity to the metropolis, though not before it began to dread all the evils which the lowest and vilest of mankind can inflict, on those whom inferiority of circumstances had taught them to envy and to hate, and whom superiority of power would soon have enabled them to persecute with cruelty and contempt.

Had

Had this loose and dissolute mob been guided by a resolution which kept pace with their outrageous profligacy, there is no knowing where the evil might have ended. Had they, while in the height of their career, after destroying the prison of Newgate, proceeded immediately to the Bank, they would have found that place unprepared for their reception; and plunder, unbridled licentiousness, popular anarchy, and public ruin, must have been the inevitable consequences. But Providence, whose general dispensations are calculated for the general good, has denied to the profligate and the base that vigour of mind which can plan and execute great undertakings, and that quickness of perception which can seize the proffered advantages of the moment. Either this gang of desperadoes had not courage immediately to attempt so daring a piece of mischief; or else perhaps they had never ventured to meditate so great a project, till emboldened by an uninterrupted career of success. Be this as it will, the attempt was not made till the succeeding day. In the mean while the design got wind, and those who, from idle curiosity, had swelled the formidable appearance of the insurgents, and others who, from mere wantonness, had but too far countenanced their depredations, began to reflect on the dangers and the consequences of their conduct, withdrew themselves to the security of their homes, and left the desperadoes to their fate. Government in the mean while was alarmed. His lordship ordered out the military, the Bank was garrisoned, and the money so concealed and secured, that had the assault been successful, the banditti would have been disappointed of their booty. But vigorous measures were now determined upon; and it was soon evident how little is to be effected by a tumultuous rabble against a handful of regular troops. Though every precaution had been made use of in other places to prevent bloodshed, and though but few comparatively fell in other parts of the town, yet here it was necessary to proceed with a severity in some degree proportionate to the desperate eagerness of the rabble; and to strike with terror those who could not be subdued by lenity. It is supposed that considerably above a hundred of the most daring fell at this place; the officers dispatching those who had been only wounded by the privates, to convince the desperate that no mercy was to be hoped if they persevered in their profligate design. The unhappy victims were prudently interred behind the Bank, that the minds of the people might not be agitated by a sight which always excites commotion in a mercantile city—the bodies of men slaughtered within their walls by the hand of martial law. Thus terminated this dangerous tumult, with as little bloodshed as prudence would permit, and with less than could possibly have

have been expected. The humanity which marked the regulations and instructions of his lordship in this affair may be termed the happy and honourable conclusion of that career of glory which his country will ever reflect upon with a mixture of honest pride and gratitude. After this nothing particular marked his official conduct; and indeed he did not long after remain in his elevated situation. During the early part of his lordship's life his conduct does not seem to have been marked by attachments to any particular party; the duties of his military situation, and the advancement of the interests and glory of his country engrossing all his thoughts. But when residing in the vicinity of the court, his lordship experienced the truth of the axiom, "that in England every man must choose his party." He naturally became attached to that ministry with which he was associated, and under whose influence he had obtained those honours which were the just rewards of past services. On this account therefore, when the ministry of Lord North found their posts no longer tenable against the growing force of opposition, Lord Amherst remained no longer in his situation. In March 1782, he resigned his staff as commander in chief of the forces, which was shortly after conferred upon general Conway. Since this period, his lordship has lived retired from all public business, mingling but little in political debate: deeming perhaps that a youth spent in the glorious camp of danger, can reap little addition of honour from an age devoted to party squabbles, and contentions for posts of ambition or emolument. Considering his lordship in a state of popular demise at present, it is presumed that it may not be improper to take a liberty with the memory of his former conduct, which can seldom be done with justice and impartiality while a man is yet engaged in the busy scenes of action. The character of his lordship ought to occupy some part of the consideration of one who professes to write even a sketch of his important life. This may in part be drawn from what has already been recorded: but it shall be more particularly stated. His vigilance and courage are too strongly marked in every part of his conduct in America to need further comment; and his dispatches speak a mind attentive to the duties of an official situation, and tinged with something of the Spartan spirit, more engrossed in the projection and execution of great and hazardous enterprises, than careful about the eloquent illustration of his exploits. But the most prominent features in his lordship's character were the fertility of his mind in the invention of expedients, with which he surmounted difficulties apparently inaccessible, and the strict and rigid severity with which he preserved discipline in his army. Of the former of these a striking instance was given in the dangerous but successful at-  
tack



tack at Isle Royale. To dispossess the foe from their stations was not possible without an attack upon their fort by water. This appeared impracticable by means of the rocks, of the rapidity of the torrent, and of the falls, which could not fail to split or overset the boats made use of on such occasions. But the dislodgement of the enemy from this post appeared of the utmost importance; little else being left to do to bring affairs to an expeditious and happy issue. His lordship therefore had a number of round boats built, so constructed as to sail equally well whichever side might be forced forward by the brakes of the waves, and prevent their being whirled away by the eddies of the flood, dashed against the crags, or overset by the rapidity of the falls. On board of these he embarked, sharing in common with his troops the dangers of the expedition; and falling down the Lakes with the current, he effected the purpose of his undertaking. The other leading feature in the general's character, however it may perhaps be justified by the consideration of military necessity, will not place him in so amiable a light in the eyes of the children of sensibility; and the circumstance now about to be related will undoubtedly draw forth the pitying sigh from those who can excuse the aberrations which proceed from the glow of youthful passion. A young fellow, of gay and heroic disposition, but of rather wild and irregular conduct, though the son of a considerable tradesman in London, felt himself impelled, either by that martial ardour natural to his warmth of temper, or by that wandering and unsettled inclination frequently attendant on youthful dissipation, to enter into the service of his country: and he went to America accordingly in the capacity of a common soldier. But as, together with a very fine person, he possessed some accomplishments above the expectations of his station; and as, by means of an income which his father allowed him, he was enabled to preserve a gentility of appearance which distinguished him above his comrades, the youth always attracted and preserved to himself a degree of respect to which his situation in the ranks did not seem to entitle him. The regiment in which he served was, during the war, quartered in the town of Albany. Here the youth, whose heart had at all times been devoted to gallantry, soon became tenderly attached to a beautiful young lady, the daughter of one of the most considerable inhabitants of the town. The lady returned his attachment with a disinterested ardour which gratified his warmest wishes. But how often does the prosperous gale which seems to be wafting us to the harbour of felicity, by some sudden gust, shipwreck us on the cliffs of ruin, even in sight of the wished-for shore! The relations of the young lady were informed of the connection, and removed her suddenly to another part of the country. The young soldier got intimation of these proceedings,

ings, and without the delay of obtaining leave of absence, set off in pursuit of his mistress; discovered the place of her retreat, and having adjusted the terms of their future correspondence, was returning to his quarters. But the unfortunate lover was seized before he reached the lines, and tried by a court-martial for desertion. The officers, with pitying hearts, passed unwillingly the sentence of military law upon his crime; and immediately sent an account of the affair to general Amherst, then at New York, accompanying it with a petition for his pardon, signed by every officer of the three regiments then at Albany. But the severe temper of the general admitted of no relaxation in the strict laws of discipline. He is said to have answered to the solicitations made for the life of the unfortunate victim, that *The laws of war condemned the deserter to death, and if he were his own brother he must abide by the decision.* The youth had been permitted during the time of suspense to be at large, accompanied only by one sentinel; but the fatal messenger arrived with the warrant for his execution, and he was led to death among the tears of surrounding spectators. The officers, though they could not save his life, decreed him all the honours which could attend upon his exit. He was led to the fatal spot, accompanied by a long military procession, which lasted for the space of two hours, filling the pitying beholders with awe, but not melting the gallant spirit of the victim. He walked round all the ranks, expatiated on the justice of his sentence, exhorted his comrades to be warned by his example, and met his death with a calmness and heroism which proved him worthy of a better fate. The reader it is presumed will readily pardon the detail of a circumstance which, however romantic in appearance, has been well attested to the writer of this article by a gentleman of indubitable integrity, and who was an eye witness of the whole. Its insertion also appeared proper, as it places in a strong point of view the character of this able commander and rigid disciplinarian.

Lord Amherst has no legitimate issue, although he has been twice married; first to a lady of Hampton, the daughter of Thomas Dalfon, Esq. which lady dying in 1765, his lordship, in 1767, united himself to Miss Elizabeth Cary, daughter of the lieutenant-general of that name, and niece to Lord Viscount Falkland. His lordship, who is now about seventy-three, although he has the appearance of more advanced age, enjoys, considering his years, a firm and happy constitution. He is tall and thin; but his figure, which is now venerable with the marks of age, and the hardships of former services, was formerly martial and commanding, full of dignity, and expressive of great powers of mind; and of that enterprising boldness, and that steady resolution, the former of which distinguished him as an officer, the latter as a commander,

# BIOGRAPHIA ADDENDA.

[No. II.]

## JOHN HOWARD, F. R. S.

Good, wise, and just, benevolent, humane,  
His heart no malice knew, his life no stain;  
At others woes his breast with pity glow'd,  
And virtue fix'd in him her last abode.  
Long had he roam'd abroad, from coast to coast—  
All Europe's glory, and Britannia's boast;  
Until he reach'd that distant happy shore,  
Whence nature *dooms us to return* no more.  
Oft have the feeble and th' imprison'd blest  
The gen'rous zeal that glow'd in Howard's breast:  
With painful care and pious steps he trod  
The path prescrib'd by virtue and his God.  
On earth's soft lap now rests his peaceful head,  
Yet, though he slumbers, Howard is not dead;—  
Still shall his soul to heaven immortal rise,  
And angels waft him to his kindred skies.

F. H.

WHEN humanity weeps the loss of her dearest and warmest friends, the best consolation which her sorrow can admit of is to see their actions fairly recorded by the pen of truth, and their virtues transmitted in their proper colours to the admiration and imitation of posterity. The writer of this article, therefore, stimulated by the desire to gratify both himself and the public upon so interesting a topic, has spared neither industry nor what little influence he may possess, to procure such information as might gratify the laudable curiosity naturally excited about the conduct and history of unparalleled Benevolence.

Mr. Howard was descended from a collateral branch of the house of Norfolk, and was born at Cordington in Bedfordshire, where he possessed by inheritance a freehold estate, small indeed in comparison with the ample generosity of his soul, but sufficient of itself to have secured respect, even if his distinguished virtues had not called forth a sentiment more warm and more honourable. Indeed, when we consider with how small an income this amiable philanthropist has dispensed more benefits to mankind than the power and affluence of princes ever bestowed, we are taught to excuse ourselves no longer for the little good we do towards society, on account of the want of affluence, or the



frowns of fortune ; and are instructed how considerable a proportion of the happiness imparted by charity depends upon the benevolence of the heart, and the industry and attention with which that benevolence is carried into action. He spent his earliest years abroad, not returning into England till his coming of age called him to take possession of his estate. Shortly after this, having taken lodgings at the house of a gentleman of decayed fortune, he was seized with a violent fever, of which he languished for a considerable time. The mistress of the house watched and attended him during his illness, with a tender assiduity to which he chiefly attributed his recovery. The grateful heart of Mr. Howard knew not how to render a return equal to the obligation, without making his careful hostess the mistress of his fortune. And as gratitude, in tender and benevolent minds is closely allied to love, he seems to have made his proposal in terms which shew all the ardour of that passion, telling her, that if she did not consent to marry him, he should immediately quit his friends and his country, never to see them more. The lady, who was upwards of forty, remonstrated on the difference of their ages ; but he replied, that he could by no other means make a proper return for her kindness, and having given her twenty-four hours to consider of his proposal, she consented. For a considerable time they enjoyed a degree of happiness which system-builders would have considered as inconsistent with the dissimilarity of their years. This happiness was only terminated by the death of Mrs. Howard ; and (though, as will be seen hereafter, Mr. Howard again entered into the matrimonial state) her early loss was lamented by him with the sincerest tenderness. He erected a monument to her memory in Whitechapel church, and has often been heard to say, that to her excellent example he owed much of his desire to be serviceable to his fellow-creatures. To another adventitious circumstance Mr. Howard, perhaps with justice, ascribes the particular direction towards which his active benevolence was so uniformly biased : though certainly a mind like his could never have been inert in a community where sorrow was to be found dropping the dejected tear, or where pain and anguish were heard to breathe their affecting moan. But as we are now entering upon the consideration of his public conduct, we think proper to observe, that for the sake of connection we shall throw such parts of the life of this great man as relate to his public character, into one regular narrative, reserving such particulars as relate to his private life for the second part of these memoirs.

In the year 1756, being desirous of making the tour of Portugal, he embarked a passenger on board the Hanover, Lisbon packet, for that purpose. But as, at that time, this country and France were in a state of hostilities, the vessel was captured by a French privateer, and taken into Brest. On this occasion Mr. Howard was not only a witness to  
those

those hardships to which prisoners are frequently exposed, but he was also a sharer in all their sufferings. "Before I reached Brest," says he, "I suffered the extremity of thirst, not having for above forty hours one drop of water, nor hardly a morsel of food. In the castle of Brest I lay six nights upon straw; and observing how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, whither I was carried next; during the two months I was at Corhaix upon parole, I corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan. I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity, that many hundreds had perished; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinnan in one day. Perhaps what I suffered on this occasion increased my sympathy with the unhappy people, whose case is the subject of this book." *Howard on Prisons*, f. 1. When Mr. Howard afterward came to England, still on his parole, he communicated those particulars, with which his sufferings or his observation had supplied him, upon this subject to the commissioners of sick and wounded prisoners. The information was received with the attention due to the authenticity and the humanity with which it was given: the commissioners returned their thanks to the informant, caused a remonstrance to be made to the French court, and thus procured redress for the captives: those at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan, being brought home in the first cartel-ships. Nor did Mr. Howard satisfy himself with merely redressing those miseries of which he had been partly an involuntary spectator; the circumstances of distress sunk deep into his mind, and made so indelible an impression, as to influence his conduct through every future stage of his life. He soon found that France was not the only country in which there was cause for like complaints, and that prisoners of war were not the only sufferers by the loathsome inconveniences which give additional horrors to the loss of liberty. In England—in his own country, he found that the debtor and the felon were equal sharers in the diseases and distresses incident to confinement, unsoftened by humanity and unalleviated by any of those attentions by which health might be preserved. And though he plainly saw the injustice of classing both these descriptions of unhappy beings together under the same general punishment, yet his strong benevolence would not admit that even guilt ought to suffer beyond what justice and necessity demands. "I grant," says he, after speaking of prisoners of war, "there is a material difference in the *circumstances* of foreign and domestic prisoners, but there is none in their *nature*. Debtors and felons, as well as hostile foreigners, are *men*, and by men they ought to be treated as men. Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery which our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying, *Let them take care and keep out*, prefaced perhaps with an angry prayer, seem not duly sensible



of the favour of Providence, which distinguishes them from the sufferers; they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious heavenly parent, *who is kind to the unthankful and the evil*: they also forget the vicissitudes of human affairs, the unexpected changes to which all men are liable: and that those whose circumstances are affluent, may in time be reduced to indigence, and themselves become debtors and prisoners. And as to criminality, it is not impossible, that a man who has often shuddered at hearing the account of a murder, may on a sudden temptation commit that very crime. *Let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall*, and commiserate those that are fallen." The better to be enabled to examine into those evils, of which there was so much cause to complain, and to empower himself to redress them as far as the sphere of his ability could be extended, in the year 1773 he took upon himself the office of sheriff for the county of Bedford, although the circumstance of his being a dissenter would have excused him from so troublesome a situation. On this account there were some few scruples in the bosom of Mr. Howard, relative to the safety with which he might discharge the office, and the danger of incurring the penalties of non-conformity. But having consulted some friends of eminence in the law, he did not find so much reason to dread that the act would be enforced, as was sufficient to deter him from his benevolent designs. This is not the only instance in which Mr. Howard has exposed his fortune to injury, and endeavoured (though always averse to popularity) to bring himself forward into public life, for the sake of advancing those great objects of humanity which were the grand pursuits of his life. He endeavoured to secure a seat in parliament for the borough of Bedford that he might be the better enabled to effect a national reformation of our prisons, hospitals, &c. It will hardly be credited in a future period, that this object which should have made all mankind anxious for the security of his election, was the very circumstance which rendered his design abortive. There were persons whose prejudices, or whose want of feeling, rendered them desirous of disappointing his liberal designs, Mr. and Whitbread was brought to parliament in opposition to the interest of this great philanthropist.

But to return: during his sheriffalty he made a particular and anxious scrutiny into the state of prisons in the county of Bedford, and also occasioned very considerable reformations of the various abuses which he discovered. In these and his future visits to the various loathsome dungeons which vindictive justice has invented, and which negligence and inhumanity have contributed to render noxious and abhorrent, his only precautions to preserve himself from infection were, never to enter an hospital or prison before breakfast, and in an offensive room never to

draw



draw his breath deeply, to smell at vinegar while he was in those places, and to change his apparel afterwards, the last two of which precautions, after habit had rendered him less timid, he entirely omitted. When he was interrogated how he could venture to expose himself to such dangers, it was his usual answer, "That next to the free goodness and mercy of the author of his being, temperance and cleanliness were his preservatives; and that trusting in *divine providence*, and believing himself in the way of his duty, he visited the noxious cells; and while thus employed *he feared no evil*." While we admire the genuine piety which dictated this sentiment, short-sighted mortals cannot but lament that such are the inscrutable ways of providence, that humanity and conscious rectitude could not at all times preserve the philanthropist from the fatal influence of tainted vapours; but that after having avoided all infections till in the year 1783, at his last visit to the *Tour de St. Pierre* at Lisle, he should not only then have caught the fever there, but should at a future period have imbibed a fatal distemper which has finally deprived human nature of its noblest ornament, and society of its truest friend. The object which most affected the mind of the philanthropist in surveying the English prisons, was the cruel practice of detaining prisoners after acquittal for their fees, and other oppressive demands of a similar nature. To remedy this, he applied to the justices to assign to the gaoler and others certain salaries in lieu of fees; but as no precedent for this could be recollected, Mr. Howard, unwilling his design should be prevented by such an excuse, visited the neighbouring counties in quest of one: but he only found additional scenes of horror and distress. These exertions soon attracted the notice of the nation, and in March, 1774, he was examined in the House of Commons upon the subject. Happily Mr. Howard was endowed with great fluency of speech; and as this circumstance enabled him to communicate his observations with ease and success, the information he afforded, and the humanity with which he had collected, and with which he now illustrated his remarks, drew upon him the thanks of the House; and, which to his heart afforded far superior satisfaction, was productive of serious regard to the situation of the unhappy prisoners; for soon after, Mr. Popham, member for Taunton, repeated the humane attempt which had miscarried a few years before, and brought in a bill for the relief of prisoners who should be acquitted—respecting their fees; and another bill for preserving the health of prisoners, and preventing the gaol-distemper; both of which passed that session. But as acts of parliament are usually printed in black letter, which many (especially in country places) cannot read, Mr. Howard, aware of how much importance it was that the humane decrees of the senate should be properly disseminated, had these two bills  
printed

printed in the Roman character, at his own expence, and sent them to the keeper of every county gaol in England. "By these acts," says the philanthropist, "the tear was wiped from many an eye; and the legislature had for them *the blessings of them that were ready to perish.*" The abuses, the miseries, and the extortions which he discovered in the gaols within his own and neighbouring counties prompted him to examine those in other parts of the kingdom; and in the years 1773, 74 and 75, he travelled all over England, Ireland, and Scotland, and visited all the prisons in each, examining with that anxious curiosity which desire to benefit the most miserable of his fellow-creatures had inspired, into every abuse, and carefully noting down every circumstance which required redress, or which, on the contrary, might appear worthy of imitation. In one of these visits to Horsham gaol with the keeper, he saw a heap of stones and rubbish lying in such a manner as to excite suspicion; and upon examination found that the felons had been undermining the cells. They had been at work two or three days, and that very night was fixed upon for a general escape. So far had they proceeded in their plan, that had they been resolute or abandoned enough when they found they were discovered, to have murdered their detectors, nothing could have prevented their rushing out and making their escape. But perhaps, since there is no condition of humanity so debased or abandoned as to be entirely dead to the impressive sentiment of gratitude, the eye of him who had braved for their sakes the dangers of the loathsome cell, might overawe those who were equal to the perpetration of any crime but that which would have shortened the life of Howard.

Our traveller frequently found that the gaolers, conscious of negligence and improper conduct, endeavoured, by artifice, to prevent him from prosecuting his inquiry. For this purpose they would pretend the utmost willingness to accompany him, but at the same time hint a fear of danger from *the fever* among the prisoners. But Howard was not to be thus intimidated; he always proceeded, and generally found that the discovery of the filthy and neglected state of the prison was, in fact, the object of their apprehensions. Frequently however the cells and habitations thus investigated, were sufficiently offensive to have deterred any one from entering who was not stimulated by the noble motive of philanthropic sympathy; and Mr. Howard himself found that after such visits his cloaths so far imbibed the noxious effluvia, that he was unable to endure a post-chaise, unless all the windows were down. This circumstance compelled him to travel at all hours, and in all weathers, on horseback, exposed to all the dangers of the road, which however he did without molestation, never experiencing any of those interruptions or disasters, of which the rumours are so innumerable.

With



With how constant and restless an assiduity he prosecuted his inquiries, —and how completely his life was devoted to this object, may be gathered from the extent of his travels, and the number of his remarks; and we find him, in the course of the same month (January 1775) relieving the anguish of the distressed prisoners in Ireland, and reforming the abuses which had crept into the gaols in Scotland. It was in this month, that in the latter of these countries, the magistrates of Glasgow, in the most respectful and hospitable manner presented him the freedom of their city, as a testimony of that admiration which his conduct had excited. The same honour was conferred upon him on a future and similar occasion by the city of Edinburgh, as also by that of Liverpool, &c.

Having thus made himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of prisons in England, in Scotland, and Ireland, he returned to England in the spring of the year 1775, with the design of publishing his account of them, that thus the public might be stimulated to redress those grievances, which his private exertions could not remove. But conjecturing that some useful information on this subject might be collected abroad, and willing to extend the advantages of his labours to foreign countries, he laid aside his papers, and travelled into France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany. The benefits he had thus an opportunity of dispensing to mankind, induced him to repeat his journey in the year 1776, adding Switzerland to the countries which had before challenged his observation.

At the Hague, the friendly interference of Sir Joseph Yorke, by procuring to the philanthropist every assistance which could facilitate the inquiry in which he was engaged, reflected considerable honour on that respected ambassador. Nor in Germany were there wanting those who were eager to share the honour of assisting the philanthropic designs of this illustrious citizen of the world. The same year the friendship and kindness of the senator *Voght*, at Hamburgh, procured him every advantage of introduction and information, in visiting the various prisons in that great and opulent city. Mr. Howard did not in these, or indeed in any other of his travels, confine his observations to prisons only; the hospitals and charitable institutions of various denominations, were also the objects of his care: in short, to do good to the miserable and friendless part of his fellow-creatures, was a desire interwoven with his very existence, and he only seemed to live in seeking opportunities to gratify (if we may venture such an expression) so god-like a passion. On his visit to the pest-house near Rotterdam, he has a remark which shows that though his spirit beamed with universal benevolence, yet this noble effluence was very capable of being converged to a point, and of glowing with



with all the collected ardour of patriotism. "I mention this edifice," says he, "not only as it occurred to me, that it would be a good plan for a house of correction, &c. but on account of the veneration it inspired, when I trod on the ground under which such piles of my countrymen lie buried; it having been used as a military hospital at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom." With such sentiments of patriot reverence, and with the spirit of piety which warmed and animated his bosom, how must he have been affected to find the rights of nature and the grand objects of moral reformation less attended to in the treatment of prisoners in England, than in almost every other country which he visited. Having thus with unwearied assiduity collected much useful information on the subject, and having by his benevolence and generosity wiped many a scalding tear from many an eye, he returned to England, and in the year 1777 published his *STATE OF PRISONS*, which he dedicated to the House of Commons, *in gratitude*, as himself expresses it, *for the encouragement which they had given to the design, and for the honour they had conferred on the author.* At the conclusion of this edition he pledged himself, if the legislature should seriously engage in the reformation of our prisons, to take a third journey through the Prussian and Austrian dominions. In the year 1780, a second edition of this work was published, but not before the performance of the above promise, the extending of his tour through Italy, and the revisiting of some of the countries he had before inspected, enabled him to make some valuable additions to this noble monument of philanthropy.

In visiting the prisons at Florence, he was accompanied by Dr. Targioni, who was ordered by his royal highness to inspect the hospitals, and report what beneficial improvements might be made in them; and indeed both the grand duke and Sir Horace Mann, our ambassador, paid him every attention, and lent him that assistance which was due to one whose pursuit was the alleviation of misery, and whose bosom vibrated alike to the sufferings of mankind. The year 1779 presents us another instance of the indefatigable industry with which he devoted himself to his great and benevolent projects. In January we find him at Dunkirk, at Calais, at Bruges, visiting his captive countrymen, alleviating their distress, and procuring the redress of their grievances; at the same time not forgetting to visit the hospitals, &c. of an hostile country, nor neglecting to relieve the distresses of those whom a less liberal heart would have looked upon as foes. In the same month we find him returned to England, laying an account of the condition of the poor captives before the commissioners of the sick and wounded seamen, and soliciting their assistance in his intended visit to the French prisoners confined in different parts of this kingdom.

[To be continued,]

# BIOGRAPHIA ADDENDA.

[No. II.]

## JOHN HOWARD, F. R. S.

Good, wife, and just, benevolent, humane,  
His heart no malice knew, his life no stain;  
At others woes his breast with pity glow'd,  
And virtue fix'd in him her last abode.  
Long had he roam'd abroad, from coast to coast—  
All Europe's glory, and Britannia's boast;  
Until he reach'd that distant happy shore,  
Whence nature dooms us to return no more.  
Oft have the feeble and th' imprison'd blest'd  
The gen'rous zeal that glow'd in Howard's breast:  
With painful care and pious steps he trod  
The path prescrib'd by virtue and his God.  
On earth's soft lap now rests his peaceful head,  
Yet, though he slumbers, Howard is not dead;—  
Still shall his soul to heaven immortal rise,  
And angels waft him to his kindred skies.

F. H.

**T**HIS distinguished character is said by some, how truly we do not pretend to say, to have been descended from a collateral branch of the house of Norfolk. Be this as it may, his family was certainly respectable; his father, an eminent upholsterer and carpet warehouseman in Long-Lane, Smithfield, being related to the Tatnalls, the Cholmleys, and the Barnardistons. The benevolent character of whom we are now about to write the life, and one sister, were the only children of this reputable trader who survived him. Mr. Howard was born about the year 1724; and it has been reported that Enfield, in Middlesex, had the honour of his birth: but this is probably a mistake, since no such entry is to be found in the parish-register; and the register of the Presbyterian congregation there does not go so far back. When he had arrived at a proper age, his father, desirous perhaps that he should increase the fortune which parental industry had been labouring to procure, fixed upon the profession of a wholesale grocer as eligible for his future establishment in life: Mr. Howard was accordingly apprenticed to Mr. Nathaniel Newnham, of Watling-street (grandfather to the present alderman of that name), with whom he served his time. In the meanwhile his father had died; and besides bequeathing his sister a hand-

B

some

some fortune, left him in circumstances narrow indeed, when compared with the ample generosity of his soul, but sufficient of itself to have secured respect, even if his distinguished virtues had not called forth a sentiment more warm and more honourable. Indeed, when we consider with how small an income this amiable philanthropist has dispensed more benefits to mankind than the power and affluence of princes ever bestowed, we are taught to excuse ourselves no longer for the little good we do towards society, on account of the want of affluence, or the frowns of fortune; and are instructed, how considerable a proportion of the happiness imparted by charity depends upon the benevolence of the heart, and the industry and attention with which that benevolence is carried into execution.—Mr. Howard does not seem ever to have been very earnest in the pursuit of that increase of fortune which trade might have procured; and as his health appeared considerably injured by his attention to business during his apprenticeship, he now forsook an avocation which he was no longer bound in duty to follow, and, consulting the restoration of his health, took an apartment in Church-street, at Stoke Newington, Middlesex. Not satisfied, however, with his accommodations, he some time after, probably about the time he came of age (which according to his father's will was not till he was twenty-five), removed to an apartment in another house, but in the same street. The mistress of this house, Mrs. Sarah Lardeau, though afflicted with the infirmities of advanced life, and troubled with the gout, was nevertheless an agreeable and amiable woman, endowed with a good understanding and a feeling heart. She was a widow, and her husband had been clerk at the lead works of Sir James Creed. While Mr. H. resided here, he was seized with a violent indisposition, of which he languished for a considerable time. Mrs. Lardeau watched and attended him during his illness with a tender assiduity, to which he chiefly attributed his recovery. The grateful heart of Mr. Howard knew not how to render a return equal to the obligation, without making his careful hostess the mistress of his fortune. And as gratitude, in tender and benevolent minds, is closely allied to love, he seems to have made his proposal in terms which shew all the ardour of that passion; telling her, that if she did not consent to marry him, he should immediately quit his friends and his country, never to see them more. The lady remonstrated on the difference of their ages, she being turned of fifty, and himself, at that time, not above twenty-eight. To this he replied, that he could by no other means make a proper return for her kindness, and that his resolution was immovable. Having given her twenty-four hours to consider of his proposal, she consented, and they were accordingly privately married in the year 1752. Mr. Howard, to complete



plete his generosity, made a present to her sister of the little fortune to which his bride was entitled. For upwards of three years, this eccentric couple enjoyed a degree of happiness which system-builders would have considered as totally inconsistent with the disparity of their years. In the mean time, domestic happiness did not make our philanthropist negligent of further acts of generosity. Being bred a dissenter, and desirous of supporting the respectability of the preachers in the sect to which he always firmly adhered, he set on foot a subscription, to which he himself advanced 50*l.* for the purpose of purchasing the lease of a tenement in the vicinity of the meeting-house, to be assigned as a dwelling for the minister.

On November 10, 1755, his domestic happiness was terminated by the death of Mrs. Howard; and though (as will be seen hereafter) Mr. Howard again entered into the matrimonial state, the loss of this his first partner was lamented by him with the sincerest tendernefs. He erected a monument to her memory in Whitechapel church, and has often been heard to say, that to her excellent example he owed much of his desire to be serviceable to his fellow-creatures. To another adventitious circumstance Mr. Howard, perhaps with justice, ascribes the particular direction towards which his active benevolence was so uniformly biassed: though certainly a mind like his could never have been inert in a community where sorrow was to be found dropping the dejected tear, or where pain and anguish were heard to breathe their affecting moan. In the year 1756, being desirous of making the tour of Portugal, that he might view the awful ravages made by the earthquake (Nov. 1. 1755) in the city of Lisbon; and having been much dissuaded by his friends from a design which they deemed presumptuous, he held several consultations upon the subject with a dissenting minister, with whom he was on terms of intimacy. Having at last settled his conscience upon the point, he, about midsummer, set off and embarked as a passenger on board the Hanover Lisbon packet. But France and England being at that time in a state of war, the Hanover packet was captured by a French privateer, and carried into Brest. On this occasion Mr. Howard was not only a witness to those hardships to which prisoners are frequently exposed, but he was also a sharer in all their sufferings. “Before I reached Brest,” says he, “I suffered the extremity of thirst, not having for above forty hours one drop of water, nor hardly a morsel of food. In the castle of Brest I lay six nights upon straw; and observing how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, whither I was carried next; during the two months I was at Morlaix upon parole, I corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan. I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity, that many hundreds

had perished; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinnan in one day. Perhaps what I suffered on this occasion increased my sympathy with the unhappy people, whose case is the subject of this book." *Howard on Prisons*, f. 1. When Mr. Howard afterward came to England, still on his parole, he communicated those particulars, with which his sufferings or his observation had supplied him upon this subject, to the commissioners of sick and wounded prisoners. The information was received with the attention due to the authenticity and the humanity with which it was given: the commissioners returned their thanks to the informant, caused a remonstrance to be made to the French court, and thus procured redress for the captives: those at Prest, Morlaix, and Dinnan, being brought home in the first cartel-ships. Nor did Mr. Howard satisfy himself with merely redressing those miseries of which he had been partly an involuntary spectator; the circumstances of distress sunk deep into his mind, and made so indelible an impression, as to influence his conduct through every future stage of his life. He soon found that France was not the only country in which there was cause for like complaints, and that prisoners of war were not the only sufferers by the loathsome inconveniences which give additional horrors to the loss of liberty. In England—in his own country, he found that the debtor and the felon were equal sharers in the diseases and distresses incident to confinement, unsoftened by humanity, and unalleviated by any of those attentions by which health might be preserved. And though he plainly saw the injustice of classing both these descriptions of unhappy beings together under the same general punishment, yet his strong benevolence would not admit that even guilt ought to suffer beyond what justice and necessity demands. "I grant," says he, after speaking of prisoners of war, "there is a material difference in the *circumstances* of foreign and domestic prisoners; but there is none in their *nature*. Debtors and felons, as well as hostile foreigners, are *men*, and by men they ought to be treated as such. Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery which our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying, *Let them take care and keep out*, prefaced perhaps with an angry prayer, seem not duly sensible of the favour of Providence, which distinguishes them from the sufferers; they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious heavenly Parent, *who is kind to the unthankful and the evil*: they also forget the vicissitudes of human affairs, the unexpected changes to which all men are liable: and that those whose circumstances are affluent, may in time be reduced to indigence, and themselves become debtors and prisoners. And as to criminality, it is not impossible, that a man who has often shuddered at hearing the account of a murder, may on a sudden temptation

commit



commit that very crime. *Let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall, and commiserate those that are fallen.*"

But to return to the narrative. After the disagreeable affair at France, Mr. H. again visited the Continent, and made the tour of Italy, from whence he returned about the beginning of the year 1758; and on the 25th of April ensuing married Miss Harriet Leeds, only daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq. of Croxton, in the county of Cambridge, king's serjeant, and sister to E. Leeds, Esq. master in chancery, and late M. P. for Rye-gate. He then retired to the sequestered villa of Brokenhurst, in the New Forest, near Lymington in Hampshire, where for some time he fixed his residence. Seven years after this, Mrs. Howard was delivered of a son, the only child of Mr. H. and shortly after expired. This unfortunate child has been the cause of much anguish of heart to the benevolent object of these pages; and, what is still more cruel, his misfortunes have been the cause of much unmerited calumny and reproach; but of this we shall speak in its proper place. After the loss of his second wife, Mr. Howard removed from the villa of Brokenhurst to an estate which he purchased at Cardington, in Bedfordshire, in the vicinity of that possessed by Mr. Whitbread, M. P. who is his relation by the father's side. We believe we may truly say, that wherever Mr. H. fixed his residence, the blessings of the poor were sure to be heard, and the wiped eye of misery infallibly proclaimed his benevolence; at least, this is well known to have been the case while he remained at Cardington, where he furnished employment for many for the mere purpose of affording them subsistence; built cottages for others, and extended his kind solicitude to all. The only condition he ever imposed upon those whom he thus favoured with his assistance was, that they should attend every Sunday at some place of public worship, according to the religion which they professed. This he always religiously performed himself, walking on the morning of every Sabbath to Bedford, that he might attend one of the meeting-houses there, and returning home on foot at night. His son, in the meanwhile, had been consigned to the mistress of a lady's boarding-school for instruction, where by mismanagement he had contracted an impediment in his speech. Notwithstanding this, the excentricity of Mr. H. prompted him to form the design of bringing him up to the ministry; and for that purpose he removed the unfortunate youth to an academy for the instruction of the children of dissenters, at Pinner, kept by Mr. Magie. But every prospect which parental partiality might have formed was clouded by the visitation of Providence, and this unfortunate youth was obliged to be consigned to the care of Dr. T. Arnold, who kept a house for the reception of lunatics at Leicester. Whether this derangement of intellects, from which the unhappy youth has never recovered,

took



took place before or after Mr. Howard had entered upon that eager career of benevolence to which the remainder of his life was devoted, we cannot say for a certainty; but it is probable that it happened a little before. The private affections of his heart had now no longer any cheerful claim upon his attention; and, naturally as the dissipated fly from sorrow to the bustle of noisy pleasure, so instinctively do the benevolent endeavour to lose the remembrance of private anguish in exertions for the public good.

In order that he might be the better enabled to examine into those evils, of which there was so much cause to complain, and to empower himself to redress them as far as the sphere of his ability could be extended, in the year 1773, Mr. Howard took upon himself the office of sheriff for the county of Bedford, although the circumstance of his being a dissenter would have excused him from so troublesome a situation. On this account there were some few scruples in his bosom relative to the safety with which he might discharge the office, and the danger of incurring the penalties of non-conformity. But having consulted some friends of eminence in the law, he did not find so much reason to dread that the act would be enforced, as was sufficient to deter him from his benevolent designs. This is not the only instance in which Mr. Howard has exposed his fortune to injury, and endeavoured (though always averse to popularity) to bring himself forward into public life, for the sake of advancing those great interests of humanity which were the grand objects of pursuit through his busy life. At the general election, the following year, he endeavoured to secure a seat in parliament for the borough of Bedford, that he might be the better enabled to effect a national reformation of our prisons, hospitals, &c. It will hardly be credited in a future period, that what should have made all mankind anxious for the security of his election, was the very circumstance which rendered his design abortive. There were persons whose prejudices, or whose want of feeling, rendered them desirous of disappointing his liberal designs; and Sir William Wake, Bart. was brought into parliament in opposition to the interest of this great philanthropist, though supported by his relation Mr. Whitbread, and by the prayers and wishes of so many benevolent characters.

But to return: during his sheriffalty he made a particular and anxious scrutiny into the state of prisons in the county of Bedford, and also occasioned very considerable reformations of the many abuses which he discovered. In these and his future visits to the various loathsome dungeons which vindictive justice has invented, and which negligence and inhumanity have contributed to render noxious and abhorrent, his  
only

only precautions to preserve himself from infection were, never to enter an hospital or prison before breakfast, and in an offensive room never to draw his breath deeply, to smell at vinegar while he was in those places, and to change his apparel afterwards; the last two of which precautions, after habit had rendered him less timid, he entirely omitted. When he was interrogated how he could venture to expose himself to such dangers, it was his usual answer, "That, next to the free goodness and mercy of the Author of his being, temperance and cleanliness were his preservatives; and that trusting in *divine providence*, and believing himself in the way of his duty, he visited the noxious cells; and while thus employed *he feared no evil*." While we admire the genuine piety which dictated this sentiment, short-sighted mortals cannot but lament that such are the inscrutable ways of Providence, that humanity and conscious rectitude could not at all times preserve the philanthropist from the fatal influence of tainted vapours; but that, after having avoided all infections, till in the year 1783, at his last visit to the *Tour de St. Pierre* at Lisle, he should not only then have caught the fever there, but should at a future period have imbibed a fatal distemper, which has finally deprived human nature of its noblest ornament, and society of its truest friend.—The object which most affected the mind of the philanthropist in surveying the English prisons, was the cruel practice of detaining prisoners, after acquittal, for their fees, and other oppressive demands of a similar nature. To remedy this, he applied to the justices to assign to the gaoler and others certain salaries in lieu of fees; but as no precedent for this could be recollected, Mr. Howard, unwilling his design should be prevented by such an excuse, visited the neighbouring counties in quest of one: but he only found additional scenes of horror and distress. These exertions soon attracted the notice of the nation; and in March, 1774, he was examined in the House of Commons upon the subject. Happily Mr. Howard was endowed with great fluency of speech; and as this circumstance enabled him to communicate his observations with ease and success, the information he afforded, and the humanity with which he had collected, and with which he now illustrated his remarks, drew upon him the thanks of the House; and, which to his heart afforded far superior satisfaction, was productive of serious regard to the situation of the unhappy prisoners. Soon after, Mr. Popham, member for Taunton, repeated the humane attempt which had miscarried a few years before, and brought in a bill for the relief of prisoners who should be acquitted—respecting their fees; and another bill for preserving the health of prisoners, and preventing the gaol-distemper; both of which passed that session. But as acts of parliament are usually printed in black letter, which many (especially in country places) cannot read,

Mr.



Mr. Howard, aware of how much importance it was that the humane decrees of the senate should be properly disseminated, had these two bills printed in the Roman character at his own expence, and sent them to the keepers of every county gaol in England. "By these acts," says the philanthropist, "the tear was wiped from many an eye; and the legislature had for them *the blessings of those that were ready to perish.*" The abuses, the miseries, and the extortions which he discovered in the gaols within his own and neighbouring counties, prompted him to examine those in other parts of the kingdom; and in the years 1773, 74 and 75, he travelled all over England, Ireland, and Scotland, and visited all the prisons in each, examining with that anxious curiosity which a desire to benefit the most miserable of his fellow-creatures had inspired, into every abuse, and carefully noting down every circumstance which required redress, or which, on the contrary, might appear worthy of imitation. In one of these visits to Horsham gaol, with the keeper, he saw a heap of stones and rubbish lying in such a manner as to excite suspicion; and upon examination found that the felons had been undermining the cells. They had been at work two or three days, and that very night was fixed upon for a general escape. So far had they proceeded in their plan, that had they been resolute or abandoned enough when they found that they were discovered, to have murdered their detectors, nothing could have prevented their rushing out and making their escape. But perhaps, since there is no condition of humanity so debased or abandoned as to be entirely dead to the impressive sentiment of gratitude, the eye of him who had braved for their sakes the dangers of the loathsome cell, might overawe those who were equal to the perpetration of any crime but that which would have shortened the life of Howard.

Our traveller frequently found that the gaolers, conscious of negligence and improper conduct, endeavoured, by artifice, to prevent him from prosecuting his inquiry. For this purpose they would pretend the utmost willingness to accompany him, but at the same time hint a fear of danger from *the fever* among the prisoners. But Howard was not to be thus intimidated; he always proceeded, and generally found that the discovery of the filthy and neglected state of the prison was, in fact, the object of their apprehensions. Frequently however the cells and habitations, thus investigated, were sufficiently offensive to have deterred any one from entering who was not stimulated by the noble motive of philanthropic sympathy; and Mr. Howard himself found, that after such visits his cloaths so far imbibed the noxious effluvia, that he was unable to endure a post-chaise, unless all the windows were down. This circumstance compelled him to travel at all hours, and in all weathers, on horseback, exposed to all the dangers of the road, which how-



ever he did without molestation, never experiencing any of those interruptions or disasters, of which the rumours are so innumerable.

With how constant and restless an assiduity he prosecuted his inquiries, —and how completely his life was devoted to this object, may be gathered from the extent of his travels, and the number of his remarks; and we find him, in the course of the same month (January 1775) relieving the anguish of the distressed prisoners in Ireland, and reforming the abuses which had crept into the gaols in Scotland. It was in this month, that in the latter of these countries, the magistrates of Glasgow, in the most respectful and hospitable manner presented him the freedom of their city, as a testimony of that admiration which his conduct had excited. The same honour was conferred upon him, on a future and similar occasion, by the city of Edinburgh, as also by that of Liverpool, and several other corporations.

Having thus made himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of prisons in England, in Scotland, and Ireland, he returned to England in the spring of the year 1775, with the design of publishing his account of them, that thus the public might be stimulated to redress those grievances, which his private exertions could not remove. But conjecturing that some useful information on this subject might be collected abroad, and willing to extend the advantages of his labours to foreign countries, he laid aside his papers, and travelled into France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany. The benefits he had thus an opportunity of dispensing to mankind, induced him to repeat his journey in the year 1776, adding Switzerland to the countries which had before challenged his observation.

At the Hague, the friendly interference of Sir Joseph Yorke, by procuring to the philanthropist every assistance which could facilitate the inquiry in which he was engaged, reflected considerable honour on that respected ambassador. Nor in Germany were there wanting those who were eager to share the honour of assisting the philanthropic designs of this illustrious citizen of the world. The same year the friendship and kindness of the senator *Voght*, at Hamburgh, procured him every advantage of introduction and information, in visiting the various prisons in that great and opulent city. Mr. Howard did not in these, or indeed in any other of his travels, confine his observations to prisons only; the hospitals and charitable institutions of various denominations, were also the objects of his care: in short, to do good to the miserable and friendless part of his fellow-creatures, was a desire interwoven with his very existence, and he only seemed to live in seeking opportunities to gratify (if we may venture such an expression) so god-like a passion. On his visit to the pest-house near Rotterdam, he has a remark which shows that

though his spirit beamed with universal benevolence, yet this noble effervescence was very capable of being converged to a point, and of glowing with all the collected ardour of patriotism. "I mention this edifice," says he, "not only as it occurred to me, that it would be a good plan for a house of correction, &c. but on account of the veneration it inspired, when I trod on the ground under which such piles of my countrymen lie buried; it having been used as a military hospital at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom." With such sentiments of patriot affection, and with the spirit of piety which warmed and animated his bosom, how must he have been affected to find the rights of nature, and the grand objects of moral reformation, less attended to in the treatment of prisoners in England, than in almost every other country which he visited. Having thus with unwearied assiduity collected much useful information on the subject, and having by his benevolence and generosity wiped many a scalding tear from many an eye, he returned to England, and in the year 1777 published his *STATE OF PRISONS*, which he dedicated to the House of Commons, *in gratitude*, as himself expresses it, *for the encouragement which they had given to the design, and for the honour they had conferred on the author.* At the conclusion of this edition he pledged himself, if the legislature should seriously engage in the reformation of our prisons, to take a third journey through the Prussian and Austrian dominions. In the year 1780, a second edition of this work was published, but not before the performance of the above promise, the extending of his tour through Italy, and the revisiting of some of the countries he had before inspected, enabled him to make some valuable additions to this noble monument of philanthropy.

In visiting the prisons at Florence, he was accompanied by Dr. Targioni, who was ordered by his royal highness to inspect the hospitals, and report what beneficial improvements might be made in them; and indeed both the grand duke and Sir Horace Mann, our ambassador, paid him every attention, and lent him that assistance which was due to one whose pursuit was the alleviation of misery, and whose bosom vibrated alike to the sufferings of mankind. The year 1779 presents us another instance of the indefatigable industry with which he devoted himself to his great and benevolent projects. In January we find him at Dunkirk, at Calais, at Bruges, visiting his captive countrymen, alleviating their distress, and procuring the redress of their grievances; at the same time not forgetting to visit the hospitals, &c. of an hostile country, nor neglecting to relieve the distresses of those whom a less liberal heart would have looked upon as foes. In the same month we find him returned to England, laying an account of the condition of the poor captives before the commissioners of the sick and wounded seamen, and  
soliciting



soliciting their assistance in his intended visit to the French prisoners confined in different parts of this kingdom. From these gentlemen he readily procured letters, which threw open all the prisons to his inspection; and assisted him in procuring whatever information he might be desirous to obtain. Thus assisted, he proceeded in the prosecution of his benevolent designs; and during the same year examined the prisons at Plymouth, at Bristol, at Winchester, at Forton, Deal, Carlisle, Pembroke, Chester, and Liverpool; and in several parts of Scotland, and in Ireland. In these visits, he did not confine his humanity to mere inquiry into the calamities he was endeavouring to redress: he procured the release of several boys, and others, confined for their fees, by compounding and paying the demands of the officers. Some of these poor wretches were shivering in filth and nakedness; some were laid up with the small-pox, or sinking into consumptions; and many had wives and children who were starving around them: but the only effect this had upon the clerks of the peace, and others concerned, was, as Mr. Howard informs us, to induce them to compound for half their fees. With some sheriffs, however, he prevailed to have the unfortunate wretches released from these inhuman demands. Mr. Howard, however (in the way of that particular object to which his labours tended) was as far from being backward at bestowing the assistance of his property, as of his labour and his thoughts. He seems hardly ever to have entered the walls of a prison without dispensing pecuniary relief to the objects of distress immured in its gloomy walls. In France, too, we find him visiting the Grand Châtelet on those days when the allowance of the prisoners is most scanty; because at such times, as himself expresses it, a small donation of wine was most acceptable: and when at Russia, where he attended the horrible punishment of the knout, his liberality afforded all the consolation of which poor wretches, almost expiring under their cruel punishment, could be sensible. But to return: the pious labours of the year 1779 were not yet closed. Mr. Howard had previously made much inquiry into the condition and usage of transports: but Mr. Eden's bill for restraints and punishments in lieu of transportation, which passed in the 16th of his present Majesty, rendered the detail of abuses and cruelties in this department unnecessary; he therefore suppressed what might have excited indignation, without the possibility of producing any advantage. The wretched convicts still however were not neglected by this pattern of humanity: he had searched into the needless oppressions and miseries of these poor creatures, and had caused a parliamentary inquiry and a reformation to take place on their behalf in the



year 1778; and now, on his return from Ireland in the month of November, he revisited the hulks at Woolwich, to see how far the regulations, voted in the senate, had been carried into the execution.

In the same year, an act of parliament was passed for the establishment of penitentiary houses; and Mr. Howard was appointed by his Majesty supervisor of them, an appointment which he accepted, on condition that Dr. Fothergill should be appointed his associate: to these was added Geo. Whatley, Esq; treasurer of the Foundling Hospital. The spot fixed upon by our philanthropist and Dr. Fothergill for the building, was a piece of ground at Islington, near to that where Penton Ville chapel now stands. In this, however, they were opposed by Mr. Whatley, who insisted that it should be erected on or near the Isle of Dogs. In this state of affairs, unfortunately, our philanthropist lost his worthy colleague Dr. Fothergill; and finding, after his death, no prospect of bringing the dispute to the issue he wished, he, in January 1781, resigned his supervisorship, by the following letter to Earl Bathurst, lord president of the privy council:

“ MY LORD,

“ When Sir William Blackstone prevailed upon me to act as a supervisor of the buildings intended for the confinement of certain criminals, I was persuaded to think that my observations on similar institutions in foreign countries would, in some degree, qualify me to assist in the execution of the statute of the 19th year of his present Majesty. With this hope, and the prospect of being associated with my late worthy friend Dr. Fothergill, whose wishes and ideas upon this subject I knew entirely corresponded with my own, I cheerfully accepted his Majesty's appointment, and have since earnestly endeavoured to answer the purpose of it; but, at the end of two years, I have the mortification to find that not even a preliminary has been settled. The *situation* of the building has been made a matter of obstinate contention, and is at this moment undecided. Judging, therefore, from what is passed, that the further sacrifice of my time is not likely to contribute to the success of the plan, and being now deprived, by the death of Dr. Fothergill, of the assistance of a worthy colleague, I beg leave to signify to your lordship my determination to resign all further concern in the business; and to desire that your lordship will be so good as to lay before the king my humble request, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to accept my resignation, and to appoint some other gentleman to the office of supervisor in my place. I have the honour,” &c.

But he by no means, at the same time, resigned his zeal to be serviceable to the cause of humanity, and to promote the reformation,  
and

and alleviate the miseries of the unhappy criminals. He seems to have considered his efforts in this respect as a kind of mission from Heaven; and, from the peculiar bias of his mind, to have sometimes looked upon the most natural occurrences as proofs of the interposition of Providence in favour of his scheme. This sentiment particularly took possession of his mind, when, on the death of his sister, he found that she had left all her property to him, without making any provision for his son. By this circumstance, besides the acquisition of a considerable sum of money, a house in Great Ormond-street was added to those he possessed at Clapton, Hackney, Ivey-lane, and Cardington, and his landed property at Enfield; and he seems to have considered them all together as forming a fund for the benefit of the prisoner and the wretched. He therefore proceeded to appropriate it accordingly; and, in Dec. 1782, and Oct. 1783, repeated his visits to the hulks at Woolwich. On the last of these occasions, finding some sickly felons, he immediately revisited the county gaol in Southwark, and others, from whence they had been drafted: these he found had relapsed into their former state of loathsome negligence; and he had all his pains for their reformation to repeat. Mr. Howard was not, however, at all times doomed to the mortification of finding that the unfeeling carelessness of the magistrates and gentry of the respective counties suffered his humane efforts to be unassisted, and the regulations he had effected to languish and decay. He was pleased to find that Sir Charles Whitworth, chairman of the Westminster charity, and Dr. W. Smith, were, in the metropolis, careful to advance the work which he had already begun. The gentlemen of the county of York entered into his benevolent plans with a degree of public spirit, which reflected the highest honour on their hearts and understandings; and that active and worthy magistrate, the Rev. Mr. Zouch, transmitted to him the most honourable testimonies of their admiration. Nor were foreigners more backward to assist and to applaud his benevolent designs: for when, in 1781, he travelled through Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland; and again in the year 1783, through Portugal, Spain, France, Flanders and Holland, several persons of the first consequence were proud to shew every degree of friendship and honour to one, whose virtues added dignity to human nature. In Holland, during the first of these journies, he was aided by the attentions of professor Camper; and also by Sir Joseph York, whose attentions, on a former occasion, are mentioned in these memoirs, and who now not only exerted himself with ardour to promote the success of our traveller's enquiries; but, while he was confined at the Hague, in consequence of



an accident, shewed him every kind regard of esteem and friendship. And in Germany (though a base minded gaoler was unwilling to shew the torture-room, lest his active benevolence should drag forth the horrors of cruelty to public view, and procure the abolition of practices abhorrent to nature) yet there were several in the most elevated rank who discovered a very different disposition. And altho' at Stockholm he was compelled to be resolute, before a being of the same description, who had neglected to wall up the torture dungeon, though, in consequence of Mr. Howard's exertions, the King had published a decree for that purpose; yet the friendly behaviour of Count de Firmain, governor of Lombardy, the attentions of the Marshal-de-Vellere at Elvas, of Dr. Haller, in Switzerland, of Count Campomanes at Madrid, &c. plainly proved, that more enlightened minds had caught a considerable proportion of that spirit of philanthropy which glowed in his own bosom. But that which gratified the Philanthropist most, was to find that many of the abuses and the horrors which he had by his former journies made known, were now, by the interference of those in power, considerably reformed. Princes had blushed to find a foreigner more awake to sympathy than themselves to the groans and miseries of their wretched subjects; and the Prisons, Hospitals, and the Pest-houses in Brunswick, Geneva, France, and a variety of other places, were now in a situation much more fit for the residence of human beings; and even the wretched slaves in the Stockhouse in Denmark, "To whom hope never comes, that comes to all," felt the cheering influence of his benevolence in the regulations which softened the rigour of their fate. At his third visit to Paris (1783) he also found two of the worst prisons entirely demolished; and learned that the King's declaration had made several very humane regulations, particularly for the abolition of dungeons under ground,—upon this principle, that it is unjust for those who may possibly be innocent, to suffer, before trial, a rigorous punishment. It was, however, in vain that Mr. Howard endeavoured to gain admittance to the Bastille; nor was he more successful at Rome, or at Lisbon, in his attempts to explore the Chambers of the Inquisition; and though at Madrid, he was introduced by Count Campomanes to the Inquisitor General, in 1783, the Tribunal was the only part of the prison he was permitted to see. The letters of the same nobleman procured him but little more satisfaction at Valladolid. Here he was received in the Inquisition-room by two of the Inquisitors, their secretaries, and two magistrates, and conducted into several rooms. On the side of one was the picture of an *Auto-de-Fée*; or, as Pegna, a famous Spanish inquisitor, calls the procession, *Horrendum ac tremendum Spectaculum*, in 1667, when 97 persons were burnt. The tribunal-room was hung with red: over the inquisitor's



fitor's seat there was a crucifix, and before it a table with two seats for the two secretaries, and a stool for the prisoner; an altar, and a door (with three locks) into the secretary's room, over which was inscribed, that the greater excommunication was denounced against all strangers who presume to enter. In two other Tribunal-rooms were the *Insignia* of the Inquisition, which are a cross between a palm and a sword. In a large room, on the floor and shelves, were a number of prohibited books, some of which were English: in another room were multitudes of crosses, beads, and small pictures. The painted cap was also shewn, and the vestments for the unhappy victims. After several consultations, he was permitted to go up the private stair-case, by which prisoners are brought to the Tribunal. But the grand object of this search was prevented. Through the several doors, in the passage to which this stair-case leads, he was not permitted to pass. On being told that none but Prisoners ever enter these rooms, "I will be confined a month," exclaims the philanthopist, in the ardour of his heart, "to satisfy my curiosity:" but the secretary replied that none came out under three years; and then not till they had taken the oath of secrecy.

We have mentioned the assiduous industry with which Mr. Howard exerted his benevolence in the year 1779. But this was not peculiar to that period. In the year 1782 he again revisited all the prisons in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, which he had inspected in the year 1779, besides those of Hull, Lincoln, Shrewsbury, Yarmouth, and Old Newgate, in Ireland. In this kingdom, he this year reported to the House of Commons, the state of prisons in Dublin; in consequence of which, two of the commissioners from that House, taking into consideration the regulation of goals, were appointed to examine with him the New Prison. The College of Dublin, at the same time, conferred upon him the most honourable testimonies of admiration; and, what afforded him infinitely more satisfaction, Mr. Provost Hutchinson brought a bill into the Irish Parliament, which passed, for discharging the unhappy prisoners confined for fees; and the Lord Lieutenant, Temple, took up, very warmly, the cause of the unhappy prisoners. In the year 1783 also (notwithstanding the various prisons and hospitals he visited on the continent, he found time to make personal observations on the condition of the prisoners of war, &c. at Falmouth, in Ireland, and other places. In every one of the visitations to the innumerable prisons which have been the objects of Mr. Howard's inspection, he constantly entered every room, cell, and dungeon, with a memorandum-book in his hand, in which he noted particulars upon the spot. So that when we consider the time necessarily devoted to observation, to travel, to arranging, and to preparing for the public the information he had obtained upon this subject, we shall find that

that every hour of his life must have been dedicated to benevolence, and that he pursued it with more avidity than ever sensualist pursued the meaner pleasures of self-gratification. Nor did he stop here: Virtue, as well as vice, becomes bolder by habitual practice; and from braving the noxious effluvia of a gaol, our philanthropist soon became encouraged to face contagion in her wildest shape, and to extend his observations to the pestilential caverns of bloated despair, and stretch forth the kindly hand of relief to the wretched victims pining in their horrible recesses.

For these purposes, and that he might be enabled to point out the proper means of effectually preventing the plague from ever being again introduced into this country, and also might assist in pointing out to those nations which are frequently inflicted with that dreadful scourge, the most eligible means of avoiding or removing its melancholy effects, he again departed from his native land, in Nov. 1785, and visited the lazaretto of Marseilles, Genoa, Spezia, Leghorn, Naples, Malta, Zante, Corfu, and Castel Novo. At Leghorn, where they are the best conducted of any in Europe, there are three lazarettos, one having been building at Mr. Howard's former visit to this place, in 1778: to this new building (which, in compliment to the grand duke, is called *San Leopoldo*) as also to that of *San Rocco*, the governor of the city, Federigo Barbolani, accompanied the philanthropist. At the upper end of one of the courts is placed the statue of the duke, who seems truly worthy of this honour, being, as Mr. Howard says he is well convinced, the father of his country. After visiting these lazarettos, Mr. Howard sailed to Smyrna, and from thence to Constantinople, where Sir Robert Ainslie, our ambassador, kindly invited him to fix his residence at his house. During his stay there, it was his constant practice to visit all the loathsome and infected places, introducing himself, as was always his practice, as a physician. Nor did he scruple, in the open air, feeling the pulses of people whom he knew to be infected: he, however, always took the precaution to keep to the windward, being of opinion, that the infection (like that near carrion) chiefly lurks to the leeward. He also, to investigate more thoroughly the modes of treating the plague at Zante, Smyrna, and other places, held frequent consultations with the Greek and other physicians; having, for that purpose, before his departure from England, been furnished by his friends, Dr. Aikin and Dr. Jebb, with a set of queries respecting the plague.—During this visit to Constantinople, he not only explored the prisons and hospitals, in hopes of producing general reformatations, but was attentive also to the alleviation of individual sorrow. It is said, that, among other benevolent exertions,



exertions, he procured the liberation of an unfortunate lady, a native of England, who had flown to that country, though in a state of pregnancy, in quest of her husband; but had found, on her arrival, that he was no more; and who having been seized with a temporary delirium at this intelligence, was now, though recovered, pining in horrible confinement, which must have been perpetual, had not the searching benevolence of Mr. Howard discovered her wretchedness, and procured her release; crowning all his generous exertions by having her conveyed to England, and affording her an annuity for her support. This anecdote is not, however, inserted here as indisputable; being only adopted on the authority of a pamphlet, entitled *Anecdotes of the Life and Character of John Howard, Esq. F. R. S.* which the writer of these memoirs has detected in many other respects to be unsupported by truth.

When the precaution of building lazarettos in England was proposed (an object which Mr. Howard laboured with incessant zeal to accomplish), the principal objection was, that the nation could reap no adequate returns from the Turkey trade for the vast expence attendant upon such a plan. But our traveller now made it appear, by his consultations with the members of the Levant Company, that the want of a lazaretto was the real cause of the ruin of our Turkey trade; for our vessels from the Levant being compelled, by act of parliament, to perform a tedious and expensive quarantine at Malta, and the ports of the Mediterranean, before they are permitted to appear off the English coast, the Dutch have an opportunity of being before-hand with us, and underselling us at our own markets; and, as their vessels perform scarce any quarantine, we are exposed to the continual danger of the plague, through their medium. This opinion was confirmed, in every particular, by some English merchants whom Mr. Howard consulted at Salonica.

From Constantinople Mr. H. at first designed to travel by land to Vienna, as the journey might easily be performed in twenty-four days, no quarantine being then performed at Semlin, on the confines of the emperor's Hungarian dominions, where formerly travellers used to be detained for that purpose. But, on further consideration, he determined to seek an opportunity of performing quarantine *himself*. With this view, he submitted to the inconveniencies of a sea voyage to Venice, where lazarettos were first established; and, in order to obtain the best information, by performing the strictest quarantine, he returned to Smyrna, and took his passage in a ship with a *foul* bill; thus running himself into the very jaws of danger, that he might be enabled to rescue others from its fangs. This voyage from Smyrna to Venice was both tedious and dangerous, and lasted 60 days; part of which time was consumed by the avaricious delays of the captain, who lost the fair wind, by improperly



tarrying at the isle of Molita, near Dalmatia, and other places, for the purposes of traffic, and by these means exposed our humane voyager to all the fury of contrary winds, and of tempests. Nor did the danger terminate here; for, a few days after leaving Modon, the vessel was attacked by a Tunisian privateer, and a very smart skirmish ensued; the captain determining, as the consequence of being taken would be either immediate death, or perpetual slavery at Tunis, that he would rather blow up the ship than surrender. But from this dreadful fate they were happily rescued; for one of their cannon, charged with spike-nails, having accidentally done great execution, the privateer immediately hoisted its sails, and made off; a circumstance which the piety of Mr. Howard did not fail to ascribe to the interposition of Providence. At length, however, he arrived at Venice, and went thro' the necessary forms of his quarantine, exposing himself to all the loathsome inconveniencies of the place: for an account of which, together with the infectious state of his lodging in the lazaretto, and the methods he made use of to remedy the evil, see the IMPERIAL MAGAZINE for April 1789. It should be observed, that, in the course of this journey, he also re-visited the prisons, hospitals, and galleys in Holland; at Lyons, Avignon, Toulon, &c. in France; at Nice, Savona, Salonica, Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, Rome, and Naples, in Italy; at Malta, in Venice, and in many parts of Germany. In the course of his observations on this occasion, he had the satisfaction, particularly at Lyons, to see that the attention he had paid to the subject had procured many humane regulations for the better security of some of the rights of nature to the most wretched of her children. At Malta, having a letter of introduction to the Grand-master from Sir William Hamilton, which he presented after his first visit to the hospitals there, he was received with great kindness. His highness readily assured him, that the prisons and hospitals should be all opened to his inspections. On a subsequent visit, being asked by the Grand-master his opinion of the hospitals, he faithfully told him his sentiments, and made his remarks on what appeared to him improper; adding, that if his highness would himself sometimes walk over them, many abuses would be corrected. These animadversions were, it seems, reckoned too bold; but Mr. Howard was not in the habit of looking upon princes and potentates with any great degree of adulation, or shewing to them any particular portion of complacent deference; he therefore frequently repeated his visits to these places, more inclined to be pleased with the good effects of his solicitude, and the pleasure they imparted to the patients, than to retract any part of that British freedom of speech which was found to be so unharmonious to his highness's ear. This indifference with which he looked upon persons in power, seems to have been a striking

striking trait in his character; his dislike to all the forms made use of on approaching royalty was so rooted, that he is believed never to have bent the knee to any one; and, when unable to resist the pressing invitation to the table of the late Emperor of Germany, he carried the simplicity, or, as some will perhaps call it, the eccentricity of his character to the royal banquet, and would not depart from the temperate rule to which he had for some time adhered, of eating no animal food, and drinking nothing but water.

During the time that Mr. Howard was thus exerting his benevolence on the continent, his country was not unmindful of the splendor which his virtues reflected on the British character: while the first geniuses of the nation were celebrating his worth with all the ardour of admiration, many patriotic characters set on foot a subscription for the purpose of erecting a statue or column to his memory; and, in the course of considerably less than a year and a half, between fifteen and sixteen hundred pounds were subscribed. But our philanthropist was far from receiving, from this proceeding, the satisfaction it was designed to impart. His letters to his private friends sufficiently shew how much distressed he felt his mind on this occasion: "Have not I one friend in England," said he, "that would put a stop to such a proceeding?" And in another letter, addressed to a very amiable character, who had no inconsiderable share in forming his youthful mind to benevolence and virtue, he expresses the highest satisfaction at finding that his particular friends were so well acquainted with his sentiments, that, in the whole list of subscribers, he had not met with the name of one of them. To put an effectual stop to this proceeding, Mr. Howard, on the 15th December, wrote from Vienna the following letter to the subscribers:

"GENTLEMEN,

*Vienna, Dec. 15, 1786.*

"I shall ever think it an honour to have my weak endeavours approved by so many respectable persons, who devote their time, and have so generously subscribed towards a fund for relieving prisoners and reforming prisons. But to the erecting a monument, permit me, in the most fixed and unequivocal manner, to declare my repugnancy to such a design, and that the execution of it will be a punishment to me: it is therefore, Gentlemen, my particular and earnest request, that so distinguished a mark of me may *for ever* be laid aside. With great regard, I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

JOHN HOWARD."

Which, as soon as he returned to England, was followed by another, of which also a copy is here presented:

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

*London, Feb. 16, 1787.*

"You are entitled to all the gratitude I can express for the testimony of approbation you have intended me, and I am truly sensible



fible of the honour done me; but, at the same time, you must permit me to inform you, that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to it, and that the execution of your design would be a cruel punishment to me: it is therefore my earnest request, that those friends who wish my happiness and future comfort in life, would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the execution of your design may be laid aside for ever.

“ I shall always think the reforms now going on in several of the jails of this kingdom, and which I hope will become general, the greatest honour, and the most ample reward, I can possibly receive.

“ I must further inform you, that I cannot permit the fund, which in my absence, and without my consent, hath been called the Howardian fund, to go in future by that name; and that I will have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed; my situation and various pursuits rendering it impossible for me to pay any attention to such a general plan, which can only be carried into due effect in particular districts, by a constant attention and a constant residence. I am, my lords and gentlemen, your obedient and faithful humble servant, JOHN HOWARD.

The design was therefore accordingly laid aside; and the subscribers were publicly invited either to recal their subscriptions, or leave them to the disposal of the committee. Out of the sum not recalled, 200*l.* was, in the same year, applied to the relief of 55 prisoners and their families in the metropolis: upwards of 750*l.* still remain undisposed of in the hands of the committee.

Thus did the hero of benevolence, with more than ancient simplicity, refuse the triumphal laurel which gratitude and admiration had prepared for his brow, even at the very time when his restless mind was planning fresh victories over barbarity and prejudice, and preparing to bear still farther the pious banner of humanity and moral reformation. Ever steady to the great objects of his life, he consumed this and the following year in making a thorough progress through all the counties and divisions of Scotland, of Ireland, of England, and of Wales, visiting indiscriminately prisons, hospitals, public charities, and seminaries of education; in short, every place (in the metropolis, or the provinces, in cities, or in villages) where misery might be suspected to be found brooding over her fate, or reformation might be needed to secure the future health and morals of mankind: nor did he on such occasions suffer the minutest circumstances, either in the deportment, the accommodations, the food, or the raiment of the prisoners, the paupers, or others, to escape his observation. The toil and assiduity of this, his last progress, through the British dominions were not without their reward. He had the satisfaction, before he bade a last farewell to his native land, whose real happiness he had so anxiously laboured

laboured to promote, of seeing that all his labours had not been fruitless; but that he had occasioned some regulations to take place, which piety will not hear of without a glow of rapture, or humanity behold without dropping the joyful tear. "It gave me sincere pleasure," says this amiable man, "to find that, from the attention of the magistrates, and the operation of the salutary act for preserving the health of prisoners, the gaols of the capital, though crowded, have been freed from that disease which formerly destroyed more persons than the hand of the executioner: and those in the country have been so much improved, that most of them may now be visited without hazard of infection. With satisfaction I have also observed the *liberal* and *humane* spirit which engages the public to alleviate the sufferings of prisoners in general, and particularly to release many *industrious*, though *unfortunate* debtors." Thus does the modest simplicity of the philanthropist mention the good effects of his own indefatigable labours, without alluding to his own efforts, and generously ascribe to others the merit of those improvements of which himself had been the efficient cause. Yes, thou transcendent worthy! thine was the breath which revived in British hearts the too much neglected embers of humanity; and may the humble admiration which now labours to disseminate the knowledge of thy virtues, contribute in some degree to keep alive the generous flame—a flame which, fed by the philanthropy of Howard, could warm even the rugged breasts of those who were hitherto tyrants by prescription, and obdurate by profession! This was particularly conspicuous at Chester, Liverpool, Oxford Castle, and other prisons, where more humane and tender modes of treatment had been adopted, and where Mr. Howard, conversing with the *gaolers* on the good effects which steady, lenient, and persuasive methods might produce, some of the keepers said, "they *now* find they can do more with their prisoners by lenient measures, than with a rough hand."

Still, however, he lamented that the spirit of improvement scarcely extended to "the more *important* object, the *reformation of morals* in our prisons. In this further reformation," says the philanthropist, "it will be absolutely necessary to begin with the capital; for, as in my former visits, when I have met with the gaol-fever in county prisons, I have been almost constantly told, that it was derived from those in London; so the corruption of manners also, flowing from that great fountain, spreads far and wide its malignant streams. In what prison in London is there a proper separation of criminals, the old from the young, convicts from the untried? Where are the night-

rooms



rooms for solitary confinement and reflection? Where is any proper attention paid to sick and dying prisoners? Where are the rules and orders of magistrates for the direction of gaolers, and the government of prisoners? In what gaol are not the ears shocked with the profaneness both of prisoners and turnkeys? Where is any regard paid to the Lord's day? Where is not the afternoon of that day a time of greater intercourse of visitants than any other? And though the gaolers taps are abolished, yet are not the publicans continually waiting to serve the prisoners, and their company? Is not beer *now* sold by the debtors? And do not turnkeys keep shops in the gaols?"

The above passage is quoted thus at large from Mr. Howard's last publication, because it tends to display many of the objects principally kept in view in all his projects for the reformation of our prisons: other articles of his attention, we are happy to say, stand recorded in the comparative decency and healthiness of many of these receptacles for vice and misery, both in and out of the metropolis, and in the superior attention which is paid to the rights of humanity. Our philanthropist had also still to lament the cruel severity of our laws, and the very inadequate offences for which persons were doomed to resign the precious inheritance of life, or to linger out existence in misery and confinement: nay, he could not but behold with indignation how, in this land of freedom and boasted equity, oppression may still pervert the law to the privation even of the liberty of injured innocence. In the county gaol of Cumberland at Carlisle, in particular, he found a prisoner, who, as the widow of an old gentleman, had enjoyed an estate of 300l. per annum, and about 7000l. in mortgages; but marrying afterwards in Scotland to a Mr. Melbourn of Carlisle, he soon squandered 4 out of the 7,000l. and she (in consequence of some disagreement) refusing to give up the mortgages for the other 3000, he, under some pretence, by an attachment from the court of chancery, sent her to the common gaol; which confinement prevented her compliance with an order for appearance at that court *in 15 days of St. Hilary next ensuing*. At first she was on the master's side; but the gaoler, after cruelly seizing her clothes, &c. for the rent of her apartment, turned her on the common side, to a little miserable room without a fire-place. Not having the county allowance, this poor injured creature supported herself by spinning and knitting, and the occasional kindness of her *late* husband's relations, while her *present* husband lived and rioted on her estate, sending her sometimes, with the intermission of seven or eight months, the insulting charity of twenty shillings. By her spinning she was not at first capable of earning

ing more than *four-pence a-week*; but at length, by practice and extreme application, she could, when in health, earn in that time about ten-pence.—O Humanity! art thou at a loss for objects on whom to shine? enter the gloomy recesses of the prison, how many languid wretches shalt thou find full worthy of thy reviving beams!

Mr. Howard having thus furnished himself with sufficient matter to throw considerable additional light upon those subjects, which he justly considered so intimately connected with the morals, the welfare, and the happiness of mankind, in 1789, published, in quarto, *An account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe; with various papers relative to the Plague; together with further observations on some foreign prisons and hospitals; and additional remarks on the present state of those in Great Britain and Ireland*; embellished with a great number of curious plates. To this work he affixed the following motto: “O let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before thee!” to the adoption of which, from the 12th verse of the 79th Psalm, he was led by observing, while he was attending divine service one Sunday at Lancaster, that the prisoners of the castle there were particularly affected by that passage, as it was read in the psalm for the day. This, his last publication, after pointing out the regulations necessary to be adopted by the legislature, the philanthropist concludes with the following emphatic and prophetic language: “After all, the best laws will fail in their effect, unless the assiduous and zealous endeavours of magistrates be exerted in a strict attention to their execution. Abuses, tho’ ever so studiously guarded against, will creep in; and it requires the utmost vigilance to detect, and resolution to reform them. If I have been able to point out any of these, and to suggest their causes and remedies, it has been by that close, persevering attention to one object, which has in some measure supplied the want of original abilities, and gives me clear notions, and a more decided opinion upon these matters. To my country I commit the result of my past labours. It is my intention again to quit it, for the purpose of revisiting Russia, Turkey, and some other countries, and extending my tour in the East. I am not insensible of the dangers that must attend such a journey: trusting, however, in the protection of that kind Providence which has hitherto preserved me, I calmly and cheerfully commit myself to the disposal of unerring wisdom. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let not my conduct be uncandidly imputed to rashness or enthusiasm, but to a serious and deliberate conviction that I am pursuing the path of duty; and to a sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness



*to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrow circle of retired life."*

Such were the sentiments with which this truly great and amiable character silenced all the objections and solicitations of those friends who would fain have dissuaded him from his benevolent but dangerous design;—such were the sentiments with which he once more bade farewell to that country, to whose bourn he was never permitted to return. But though we are deprived of his future labours, though his dust is not permitted to remingle with his native earth, nor Britons indulged in the mournful pleasure of watering with their tears the spot which entombs him, let us not forget that, in his excellent publications, he has left us a noble legacy, which furnishes us with the means and the incitements to benevolence! and may those who have power and opportunity, consider these records of his pious and patriot labours as talents which it is their duty to improve, and for the application of which they must be answerable at the great day of account.

No particulars concerning this last journey of this *best good man* have yet transpired, but that, in his way to Cherfon, a new settlement of the Russians, in the mouth of the Dnieper, or Borysthene, towards the northern extremity of the Black Sea, where he died, his baggage was lost from behind his carriage, while himself and servant were taking the necessary refreshment of slumber. This, however, was recovered on his hastening back to the nearest town, where he had seen a party of Russian recruits, who were the objects of his suspicion. The things had been found by some ploughmen, half-buried in the soil by the road side; but suspicion so strongly fastened upon the recruits, that seven of them were consigned by the magistrates to exile in Siberia. Shortly after this, having visited a young lady who had an epidemic fever, for the purpose of administering that relief which he hoped his constant attention to these disorders would enable him to supply, he caught the infection. Prince Potemkin, hearing of his illness, sent his physician to attend him from Jassy: but medical aid was vain; and, after languishing about twelve days, he expired on the 20th of January 1790, at Cherfon, a victim to that benevolence which had been the constant and invariable object of his pursuit, through many successive years of his life. After having been kept five days, in pursuance of his particular instructions to his servant, he was buried, according to his own desire, in the garden of a neighbouring villa, belonging to a French gentleman, from whom he had received great civilities. He was attended in his last hours by the same faithful servant who had accompanied him in all his former travels, and whom he particularly instructed not to depart for England till five weeks  
after

after his decease. Other reports affirm the malignant fever to have been caught by visiting an hospital where the infection prevailed ; but the account given in the London Gazette is here followed ; and it may be remarked, that it is the first instance of the death of a private individual being noticed in this national print.

Mr. Howard left Edward Leeds, Esq. Master in Chancery, and Joseph Leeds, Esq. of Croydon, Surrey (the brothers of his second wife), executors of his will.

Besides the works already noticed in the course of these memoirs, Mr. Howard published, in the year 1780, *Historical Remarks and Anecdotes on the Captivity of the Bastille, translated from the French* ; and in the year 1789, *the Grand Duke of Tuscany's New Code of Criminal Laws, with an English Translation*. It was not with uninterrupted security that our philanthropist exposed the horrors of despotism, and the cruel iniquities of the now ruined Bastille. The jealous resentment of the French police, had nearly doomed him to a participation of all the sufferings of that detested prison. From this danger he was, however, rescued by the timely interposition of our Ambassador. After this circumstance, he is reported to have stood so much in dread of assassination, that in every person who, from admiration, thronged to look upon him, while in France, he fancied he beheld the desperate ruffian preparing the dagger for his heart.

As a member of that great society of which provinces and kingdoms may be considered as only humble divisions, and of which the boundaries are to be looked for only in those barriers which separate this terrestrial sphere from the sister globes which people the immensity of created space ; the facts already stated to the reader must speak Mr. Howard to stand unequalled : and it is to be remembered that his feeling heart extended its tender commiseration in an equal degree, even to the brute creation. But whether as a private character, he was as amiable as he was admirable in his public conduct, has been questioned, perhaps, with more envy than propriety. It is natural enough to conclude, that a man who devoted his whole life to the arduous and undiversified pursuit of one grand object, especially if this pursuit naturally subjected him to the contemplation of objects not very congenial with sentiments of elegance and refinement, would have something harsh and eccentric in his outward demeanor, and not be very much distinguished by those soft and engaging arts by which very superficial characters frequently insinuate themselves into our affections ; and which, though not all concomitants of merit, are perhaps necessary to endear even the most shining abilities, and the most distinguished virtues : and that Mr. Howard so far was deficient, it is not easy to deny, any more than it can

F.

justly



justly be concealed that there were, in particular circumstances, rather too much austerity and inflexibility in his disposition : but these were only slight blemishes which would not have been observed, if they had been associated with the common qualifications of the herd of mankind. It is the nature of whatever is brilliant, to make its defects the more conspicuous; and spots, which appear dark upon the luminous face of the sun, might be thought beauties on the dull clod of uneradicated earth.

Mr. Howard, with all his eccentricity, possessed a very eminent degree of affability ; and if he could not bend and fawn to greatness, or bring himself, in all things, to the exact standard of modern manners, he placed himself on a level with all mankind, and treated all with the same degree of civility and attention.

With respect to religious sentiments, he has been charged of rigid illiberality : but if this were the case, it is something extraordinary that it should never be apparent in action ; and the very reverse is proved by the testimony (among others) of Mr. Thicknes, who affirms, that he “ constantly built a cottage every year on his own estate, and put a poor family in possession of it, on express condition, that they should attend divine service every Sunday, at *church, mass, meeting, or synagogue.*” How far it is consistent with illiberality to diffuse its favours alike upon persons of all persuasions, listening to no plea but that of their poverty, compliant at once to the prejudices of all, and anxious only that they should cultivate the meek spirit of piety according to that particular sentiment which had been inculcated into them ; we leave common sense to determine : but the cruelest aspersions on the character of Mr. Howard, is that which relates to his domestic conduct. The behaviour of this philanthropist, so tender and humane to the wretched outcasts of guilt and misery, is reported to have been so severe and unfeeling to his *own*, and *beloved* son, as to have occasioned the derangement of his intellects.

That Mr. Howard, like many other parents, might have higher notions of paternal authority, than a thorough investigation of the subject would justify, cannot perhaps be denied ; neither is it controverted, that in his temper (as with predestinarians in general) there was too much of sternness and severity. But how unheard of must have been that cruelty which could produce such terror or anguish to the mind of youth as to derange the rational system, and hurl the powers of reason from their seat. Madness is seldom, if ever, produced by any adventitious circumstance without a pre-existent and pre-disposing cause : and not unfrequently, the constitution has so strong and natural a bias to this derangement, that the common progress of events pushes the tottering reason from the brink of the precipice upon which it hovers into the inevitable

table abyfs. When this is the cafe, ignorance, incapable of difcovering the propelling fource within, feeks for fome external caufe to account for the dreadful effect; and malevolence feldom fails to faften upon fome hypothefis which may inflict fresh anguifh on thofe unhappy relatives who are already but too far overwhelmed in anguifh and regret: but that the man, whofe liberal feelings and expanfive fympathy we have made this feeble attempt to pourtray, could have exercifed towards an only child, that brutality which would have driven to infanity an undiftempered intellect, however timid and irritable, is what malice perhaps may report, but we can never believe. Add to this, that Mr. Howard indifputably entertained the moft tender and rooted affection for his child; that he always regarded him with a folitude truly paternal; and, as his private correffpondence fufficiently evinces, ever reflected upon his diftreffing malady with the feelings of a tender and ardent affection. Another charge brought againft Mr. Howard, is that of inflexible obftinacy—a charge, which is fupported on the manner in which he conducted himfelf on the difpute, relative to the fituation of the intended penitentiary houfe. But this charge is, in fact, only applicable to thofe who, with inferior knowledge upon the fubject, oppofe with fuch irrational perfeverance the plan of one, whofe benevolent life had been employed in collecting fuch information as rendered him the fitteft judge to decide fuch a controverfy. In the opinion Mr. Howard entertained, he was encouraged to perfevere by the counfel of Dr. Fothergill, and confirmed by the dying words of SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, at whose inftance he undertook the task. “ This great and good man, fays Mr. Howard, Dr. Fothergill faw juft before he died, to whom he then turned, and asked, *what progrefs we had made in the penitentiary houfes?*” The Dr. answered, “ that we had paid all poffible attention to the opinion of others refpecting a fituation, that we muft foon be obliged to request the opinion of our judges concerning it. *Be firm in your own*, was all he was able to fay, as he foon after departed for a better life.” This account of the Judge’s laft converfation, I received in a letter from the Dr. in January 1780; as I was then attending the prefs at Warrington. I fhall take the liberty to copy, *verbatim*, my immediate answer to that letter. “ Mr. Juftice Blackstone’s dying words, *be firm in your opinion*, feem to me the moft important direktion for our conduct. We are fixed upon as the proper perfons to determine upon a plan, fituation, &c. of a penitentiary houfe; why then transfer the office to other perfons, whose ftation of life, and other engagements, muft render them very unfit for entering into fuch a matter? let us, when we meet, abfolutely fix upon one fituation as the beft of the whole, according to  
our



our ideas, and specify our reasons; let us submit the approbation, or rejection of this one plan, to those in whom the law has vested such a power; but not give *them* the unnecessary trouble, or *us* the improper degradation of determining in our stead, &c." the reasons which supported their preference were well weighed, and whoever takes the trouble to consider the affair, will readily allow on which side the obstinacy lay. With respect to Mr. Howard's wish to prevent any liquors, except water, milk, tea, and the like, from being introduced into prisons, no narrow-minded want of feeling will be attributable to him, when we reflect that it was his ardent wish that none but felons, and swindlers (*who*, he justly observes, *are felons*) should be confined to these dreary abodes; and when we consider the dreadful effects of intoxication, a fatal attachment to which, in those who are sunk in misfortune, so frequently occasions him who went in to confinement a debtor, to come out a reprobate. The indignation, however, which he entertained against the abuse of liquors, having been roused by the circumstance of his finding, in the King's-bench prison, a quaker, whom he was going to release, in a state of intoxication, occasioned him to express himself in a manner to the Duke of Richmond, and others in *private conversation*, which was repeated again with exaggeration in the House of Lords, much, though unjustly, to the injury of his popularity. Mr. Howard has also been reported not to have been *naturally* generous. But what construction is to be put on this report, we leave to those to consider who have read his life. That his generosity (conscious as he must be, that a private fortune can never be adequate to every demand of pity) was converged to one point, is obvious; and it is likely, that he who pursued one object so steadily in his travels, that even the solicitations of friendship could not induce him to turn out of his way to behold the mansions of grandeur and elegance, also kept the ever sympathising eye of his charity so constantly fixed upon the same point, that he had neither the leisure, nor the means to attend to other objects of distress. But a conduct like this rather evinces the steadiness of his judgment, than his want of *native* generosity. On the whole, Mr. Howard seems to have been a character truly singular in every respect; and his eccentricity in trifling matters, must be attributed to the extraordinary attention which he constantly paid to the rights of humanity, and the important interests of morals and of society. His virtues, as they will soar above defamation, so do they render panegyric unnecessary; and his understanding, though certainly inferior to his heart was such as his works will sufficiently evince to have been respectable. He was of a middle stature; his features were prominent, and much resembled those of the poet Gray.

# BIOGRAPHIA ADDENDA.

[No. III.]

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

WAS born at Boston, in the State of Massachusets, in the year 1705. His father was a Tallow-chandler in that city; where also he served an apprenticeship to a Printer. While in this situation, his letters to Sir Hans Sloane sufficiently evince the attachment he discovered to science, and particularly to philosophical subjects. He early removed to Philadelphia, in consequence, as has been suspected, of some satyrical productions which he had anonymously published. Here, at first, he was employed as a journeyman Printer; in which capacity he exhibited a great example of frugality and industry. These virtues soon enabled him to commence business for himself. He began with printing primers, and books for children, but at length purchased the Pennsylvania Gazette, the oldest paper in that province. This paper, and an almanack he annually published, were the first vehicles which made his talents known to the world. About this time also, he became acquainted with the celebrated Whitfield, by publishing whose Sermons, and collection of Hymns, he acquired such profit, as enabled him considerably to extend his business. While he was thus rising, by application, to opulence, Mr. F. employed his leisure time in the study of Natural Philosophy, and in acquiring the Latin and French languages, both of which he attained after he had arrived to manhood. Philadelphia, during the same period, also became indebted to him for the projection of her first public charities, as she was afterwards for her library. In 1743, the Society for promoting useful Knowledge in America, now known by the name of the *American Philosophical Society*, was formed upon the model proposed by Mr. F. His uncommon assiduity still continued to increase his reputation and knowledge in Experimental Philosophy, in which, it is said, he was assisted by the Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, Professor of Oratory in the College of Philadelphia. Mr. F. was the first who, observing the power of uninsulated points in drawing off the electricity from bodies at great distances, inferred, that a pointed metallic bar, if insulated at a considerable height in the air, would become electrical by communication from the clouds; and by prosecuting the experiment, ascertained the identity of lightning, and the electric spark. He ma-

F

nufactured



manufactured a kite with a large silk handkerchief, and two cross sticks, which being raised, during a thunder storm, in June 1752, and the end of the string tied to a silk string which he held, and a small key being fastened at the place of junction, he had at length the completest evidence of the theorem. After this, he erected an insulated iron rod, to draw the lightning into his house, for the purpose of making experiments; and that he might lose no opportunity of that nature, he connected two bells with his apparatus, which gave notice by ringing whenever the rod was electrified. These insulated conductors have, in consequence of these discoveries, been of considerable benefit to mankind, by preserving many buildings from being injured or destroyed by lightning. For several years, Mr. F. continued deeply engaged in these electrical experiments, maintaining a correspondence with P. Collinson, Esq. F. R. S. his letters to whom being published, were much admired in all parts of the globe. In April 1762, the University of Oxford conferred upon him the honorary degree of L. D. many of the most eminent men of the age about this time cultivating his friendship, and revering his name.

Dr. Franklin had passed the meridian of life, before his opposition to the *proprietary* government; and his endeavours to introduce a *royal* one, first rendered him conspicuous as a politician. His scheme for new regulations for managing the Post Offices, and increasing the Post Tax in America, procured him the place of joint Post-Master General of the Provinces; and obtaining a seat in the Assembly, and joining with Mr. Joseph Galloway against the proprietary interest, he was in 1764 appointed Agent to transact the business of the Province (Pennsylvania) at London: soon after which, he was also nominated Agent for New Jersey, Virginia, and Georgia. The affair of the Stamp Act coming on, the Doctor found full employment in opposing it, though there are some who assert that he was the original projector of it. However this be, he did not cease his indefatigable exertions, till the obnoxious measure was repealed. This repeal did not completely sooth the Americans. Discontents reiteratedly spread among them, and Mr. Samuel Adams, a supposed agent of the Doctor, previous to the destruction of the Tea at Boston, continued to disseminate the spirit of freedom among them, till it spread through all the Provinces from New Hampshire to Georgia. The part Dr. F. was supposed to have in these commotions, procuring his dismissal from his office of Post-Master, he left London, and repaired to America with a firm and ardent zeal to support the cause of liberty. The fatal battle of Lexington taking place in the spring of 1775, he addressed the following laconic and animated letter

ter

ter to his *late* friend Mr. Strahan, then his Majesty's Law Printer, and a Member of Parliament for Malmſbury, which made its appearance in the public prints.

"MR. STRAHAN,

*Philadelphia, July 5, 1775.*

"You are a Member of that Parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction. You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our people! Look upon your hands! They are stained with the blood of relations! You and I were long friends—you are now my enemy—and I am your's,

"B. FRANKLIN."

The resolution of the Americans to assert their liberties was now sufficiently inflamed; but their want of money and stores would have rendered all their resolutions fruitless, had not the fertile brain of Dr. F. suggested the plan of a continental paper currency. The first emission of three millions of dollars took place July 25, 1775; and before he left America, the latter end of 1776, upwards of twenty-one millions were expended. The Doctor is by some supposed, from the very first of the struggle, to have looked forward to the event of American Independence; and accordingly, when the important question was debated in Congress, he, as Representative for Pennsylvania, was one of the most firm and resolute advocates for that measure, in which he was so warmly supported, that his opponents were obliged to yield, and the resolution, in consequence, was carried. To support this resolution, he was sent to France to negotiate an alliance with that kingdom. Having taken two English prizes in his way, he arrived at Nantz the 17th of December 1776, and shortly after wrote several letters to Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador, relative to the more humane treatment, and the exchange of prisoners; to which he could obtain no other answer from his Lordship, than that *he received no letters from rebels, except when they came to ask mercy*: not recollecting that he who shuts his ears against the voice of humanity, is the most *unnatural rebel*. During the Doctor's residence here, several American privateers were privately fitted out from the ports of France, greatly to the detriment of our merchandise. This produced a Remonstrance from the British Court; in consequence of which the French Minister affected a shyness towards the American Agents. But the news of the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his army to Gen. Gates at Saratoga, October 17, 1777, soon encouraged France to yield to the ardent desires of the people, and declare publicly in favour of the Americans. The treaties, which acknowledged the independence of the revolted provinces, were accordingly



cordingly signed at Paris January 30, 1778. The Sieur Girard was appointed Ambassador to the new States; but before his departure, the Doctor had planned a scheme for surprising the British fleet and army at the Delaware, which, but for the interference of the winds and weather, the Count D'Estaing in all probability had executed. The infatuated attachment of the French to America, and particularly to Franklin, is astonishing; and the zeal with which they laboured to prove that his family originated in their country, speak unanswerably the affection with which the people revered him.—It was in this year that his most Christian Majesty constituted the Royal Medical Society of France, of which the Doctor was made the first foreign Member. For near nine years he continued as Plenipotentiary in France, administering the most efficacious services to his country, not only as a resource in their difficulties, but by supporting their spirits against apprehension and weariness; and having thoroughly effected his favourite scheme of independence, he returned to America in September 1785. On his arrival at Philadelphia, the citizens appeared to vie with each other in exhibiting testimonies of their esteem. The House of Assembly, the Faculty of the University, and other societies, presented him with their affectionate addresses, and in October following, he was elected Governor of the State of Pennsylvania; in which office he continued till October 1788: when he assisted as Representative of that Province, at the General Convocation called for new-modelling the Constitution. It seems that he did not entirely approve of the Fæderation; but he gave it his concurrence, because he conceived a general union necessary, and thought a better plan was not likely to be devised. This was his last interference in popular affairs; and full of years and honours, he spent his remaining time in the pursuit of his favourite sciences, entertaining weekly, at his own house, a Society for Political and Philosophical Inquiries. Several years before his death, he was afflicted with the gravel; and in the beginning of April, 1790, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, which terminated his life on the 17th, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

As a genius, Dr. F. was more of a writer than a speaker, and more of a philosopher than either. In his conversation, he was affable, obliging, and facetious. A collection of his common sayings would form an intellectual banquet: his letters to his friends were full of wit and instruction; and it may be truly said of him, that in the sage he never lost sight of the friend or companion.







# BIOGRAPHIA ADDENDA.

[No. IV.]

## BERNARD GATES, Esq.

THE most solid talents, and the most steady exertions, do not insure fame. A sudden effusion of genius, or a single effort of invention, will often transmit a name through many generations, while, too frequently, a long life of useful and steady exertions will be found hardly to preserve from oblivion the less fortunate adventurer: the blazing meteor, that vanishes almost with the first corruscations of its radiance, infinitely more attracts the vulgar attention than all the beautiful luminaries, whose incessant revolutions adorn the planetary sphere.

BERNARD GATES, Esq. though more than threescore years devoted to the science of Music, and half that time employed in the cultivation of rising genius, would hardly have been now remembered, but for the eminence and gratitude of his pupils. This gentleman was a native of Holland (being born at the Hague April 23d, 1686), and came over with his father, a Page of the Back Stairs to King William, at the glorious Revolution. In 1697, he was admitted one of the children of the Chapel under Dr. Blow, appointed Gentleman Extraordinary to the Queen in March 1697, and in July following succeeded Mr. Howell as Gentleman in Ordinary. In 1710-11, he held one of the Choir of lay places, Westminster, jointly with a Mr. G. Laye, and the next year succeeded to a full place. November 4, 1714, he was elected one of the Choir of Windsor, but did not long stay there, as he became a supernumerary at St. Paul's Cathedral. September 1727, Mr. Gates succeeded Dr. Croft as Master of the Children of his Majesty's Chapel, and was appointed Tuner of the Regals. In 1731, he cheerfully contributed to the rising fame of Handel, while most other of our Masters invidiously endeavoured to depreciate his merits, or vainly attempted to become his rivals. That immortal composer having set the Oratorio of Esther for the Duke of Chandos, it was this year represented in action by the children of his Majesty's Chapel, at their Master's house in James-street, Westminster; and afterwards repeated by the same performers, in a Subscription Concert, at the Crown and Anchor. (*Vide Burney's History of Music, Vol. IV. p. 360.*) In 1734, Mr. Gates resigned St. Paul's, and was appointed to a second place of

G

Gentleman



Gentleman in Ordinary; and in 1740, he was made Master of the Choiristers of Westminster Abbey. But in 1757, his age and infirmities obliged him to resign this last preferment in favour of Mr. (now Dr.) Cook; and St. James's Chapel in favour of Dr. Nares. The next year Mr. Gates was obliged to undergo an operation for the stone, which he did with becoming resolution and patience; and from that time enjoyed a good state of health till his decease, which happened at Northampton, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1773, and at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

Mr. Gates never distinguished himself as a composer of eminence; but there is a little Duet by him, preserved and commended at the end of Dr. Nares's Vocal Duets, the character of which is elegant simplicity. But it is as a tutor that he principally demands the grateful remembrance of the admirers of his science. In this respect his life was useful in educating several of the first musicians now living, who have shewn a regard for his memory, in annually devoting a day to his commemoration, and the cultivation of friendship among themselves.

(No. V.)

### DR. THOMAS AUGUSTINE ARNE,

WAS the son of the political Upholsterer so much celebrated by Mr. Addison. Our musician was born in the year 1710, and discovered an early attachment to music; for even while at Eton, where he was sent for education, he used, at every opportunity, to torment his school-fellows with the wretched music of a broken English flute. And when he came home, he contrived to secrete a spinnet in his garret, on which, having muffled the strings with a handkerchief, he used to practise at nights, while the rest of the family were asleep. His father had determined to bring him up to the law, and actually articulated him for three years to an Attorney; still, however, this child of Apollo devoted every moment he could redeem to his favourite science, and was so assiduous in his application, not only to the spinnet, but also to other instruments, that before his father had the least suspicion of such an attachment, he caught him one day at a friend's house in the very act of playing the first violin. From this time he procured his father's consent to make music his profession; and having obtained this licence, soon bewitched the rest of the family







mily. His sister and younger brother became popular singers ; and the former afterwards a great actor in the walk of tragedy.

Mr. Arne's performance on the violin, for which he had received some instructions from Festino, soon recommended him to the acquaintance and friendship of the most eminent Italian masters residing among us ; particularly Geminiani ; and procured him the place of Leader of the Band at Drury-Lane Theatre, in which he continued several years. But the fame of his performance was soon forgot, in the applause he received as a composer. His first composition was the music in the Opera of Rosamond, which, though it contained some agreeable airs, was not very popular. Alfred, composed in honour of the Princess of Brunswick, and the Burletta of Tom Thumb, had better success, and seem to have particularly attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales and his Court. But in 1738, Mr. Arne completely established his reputation as a lyric composer, by setting *Comus*, as it had been altered for the stage by Dr. Dalton. " In this " Masque (says Dr. Burney) he introduced a light, airy, original, " and pleasing melody, wholly different from that of Purcell or Handel, whom all English composers hitherto had either pillaged or " imitated. Indeed the melody of Arne at this time, and of his " Vauxhall songs afterwards, forms an era in English music ; it was " so easy, natural, and agreeable to the whole kingdom, that it had " an effect upon our national taste ; and, till a more modern Italian " style was introduced, was the standard of all perfection at our theatres and public gardens." (*Hist. Music, Vol. IV. p. 659.*) In 1736, Mr. Arne had married Miss Cecilia Young, a popular singer, and pupil of Geminiani. From 1742 to 1744 Mr. Arne and his lady took a trip to Ireland ; during which time also Handel happened to be there. The next year he was appointed Composer to Vauxhall ; and his little Pastoral of Colin and Phoebe met with such applause, as to be encored every night for three months successively. About this time our Composer also applied himself to study the more abstruse parts of musical science under the learned Dr. Pepusch, the oracle of that time. Arne's subsequent compositions were very numerous, and though, as might be expected, several of them were unsuccessful, from others he reaped much additional applause. But the most famous of all his secular compositions, was the Opera of Artaxerxes, of which different opinions have been entertained. Let us hear our Musical Historian. " In 1762, Arne quitted the former style of melody, in which he had so well set *Comus*, and furnished Vauxhall, " and the whole kingdom, with such songs as had improved and polished our national taste ; and when he set the bold translation of " *Metastasio's*

“Metastasio’s Opera of *Artaxerxes* [*i. e.* Artaxerxes, of which himself was the translator], he crowded the airs, particularly in the part of *Mandane* for Miss Brent, with all the Italian divisions and difficulties which had ever been heard at the Opera. This drama by the novelty of the music to English ears, with the talents of Tencucci, Peretti, and the Doctor’s scholar, Miss Brent, had very great success; and still continues to be represented, whenever singers can be found who are possessed of sufficient abilities for its performance. But in setting *Artaxerxes*, though the melody is less original than that of *Comus*, Arne had the merit of first adapting many of the best passages of Italy, which all Europe admired, to our own language, and of incorporating them with his own property, and with what was still in favour of former English composers.” (*Burney’s Hist. Music, Vol. IV. p. 673.*) In the Oratorio style, Dr. Arne (who had taken his Degree at Oxford in 1759) composed the *Death of Abel*, *Judith*, and *Beauty and Virtue*. In his sacred Chorusses, though Dr. Burney says they “were much inferior to those of Handel,” yet to those only can their inferiority be admitted; since they possess a spirit and fire, which if Handel had not preceded and monopolized all the praise in that species of composition, would doubtless have delighted and astonished every hearer. His Oratorio airs Dr. Burney himself confesses to be often “admirable.” Our Author’s last work was *Caractacus*, and is thought by no means inferior to any of the preceding. He likewise wrote some Harpsichord music, but such improvements have been introduced in that line of writing since his time, that they must appear now to great disadvantage.

Dr. Arne was in person remarkably plain, which, in some instances, exposed him to the ridicule of wicked wits; but this served only as a foil to his genius and abilities.

The private lives of Musicians, and the Professors of other polite arts, will not always bear a strict enquiry; the prominent features in the Doctor’s character were a love of ease and gaiety, with an unbounded attachment to the fair sex, which certainly contributed not a little to keep him all his life in contracted and embarrassed circumstances. He was educated in the principles of the Romish Church, in the communion of which he died, on the 5th of March, 1778.

We must not conclude these Memoirs, without observing that Dr. Arne was not less successful in the instruction of vocal performers, than as a composer; the admirable Miss Brent is alone a sufficient support to this assertion. Dr. Arne likewise tried his genius in poetry, and beside translating *Artaxerxes*, as above-mentioned, wrote *The Guardian Outwitted*, and *The Rose*, with several of his single Ballads, there being at that time a great scarcity of good lyric writers.





o  
i  
t  
a  
t  
i  
t  
t  
c  
n  
f  
o  
t  
t  
t  
t  
r  
P  
v  
  
o  
o  
f  
a  
n  
a  
v  
f  
a  
T  
d  
n  
w  
e  
e  
ti  
g

# BIOGRAPHIA ADDENDA.

[No. VI.]

JOHN HORNE TOOKE, Esq.

TO delineate the political character, and trace the conduct of a man whose life has been spent in a continued series of restless opposition, to the encroachments of tyranny, or to the growing insolence of faction, are no easy tasks to execute with candour and impartiality, while the parties concerned are yet engaged on the theatre of public action, and the events to be recorded are fresh in the memories of men, and connected with the ruling principles of existing parties. The jaundiced eye of political prejudice will discolour the most disinterested proceedings on the one hand, while, on the other, the ardent gaze of enthusiastic admiration may, at times, impart its own lively vigour to the objects of its contemplation, and discover, in measures, whose apparent object it applauds, a purity and sublimity of disinterested virtue, not entirely supported by the dictates of the actor's heart. By the malignant influence of the former prejudice, the writer of this article is proud to say he is under no temptation of being misled; and he flatters himself, that his judgment is too unbiassed, and his heart too independent, to be deluded by the latter: those, however, who entertain a different opinion, may assure themselves, that the bias (if any there is) arises not from any personal attachment to the man, but from an honest zeal for the cause in which he is so warmly engaged. In the confidence, therefore, of having taken some pains to be impartially convinced, we presume to trace, and deliver our sentiments upon, the conduct of a man, who, though he has been at times the idol, and at others the detestation of the populace, has, in our opinion, uniformly pursued one steady and glorious object, in the pursuit of which, as its accomplishment alone can prop the tottering pile of British freedom, we hope to see him crowned with the most triumphant success.

John Horne is the son of an eminent poulterer, formerly an inhabitant of the metropolis, and being educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, obtained, early in life, the living of Brentford; though the clerical profession was not that to which he first directed his attention. As he was much admired for his eloquence in the pulpit, and joined to a strong and penetrating judgment, an intense application, and an extensive acquaintance with languages and science, he might, in all probability, have advanced to much higher honours in the church; but his keen and ardent spirit was not to be confined to dry subjects of theology, nor his laudable ambition limited to the applauses of a parochial congregation. The genius of the times inspired, and the posture of affairs seemed to demand from men of talents and discernment, a more active kind of benevolence than could be displayed in repeating to a narrow circle the well-known duties of social and relative affection. He, therefore, at an early period, began to distinguish himself in the political world, and enlisting himself under the banners of Freedom, became the warm partizan of Mr. Wilkes, so long as that selfish, but eminently useful demagogue, preserved any decent appearance of disinterested patriotism; and

when, in defiance of the oppression and violence of the court, Mr. W. A. D. 1768, became a candidate for the county of Middlesex, Mr. Horne mounted on horseback, and, without an associate, canvassed the whole county in his behalf, and was the principal mean of securing his famous election: an obligation of which Mr. W. made a kind of tacit acknowledgment, by eagerly hastening through the crowd on the first day of the late contest at Westminster, to give his vote, and wish success to his once warm, and afterwards injured *patron*.

From the time Mr. H. performed this important service for Mr. W. and eventually to the friends of liberty at large, no lukewarmness in the *cause* was ever discovered. A constant attendant at all the public meetings of the County, he contributed, in no small degree, to keep alive and disseminate that flame of liberty which the overweening violence of oppression had occasioned to burst forth; expressing the honest zeal of his heart, in terms of such warmth, as even those in whose behalf they were spoken, did not afterwards scruple to take a mean advantage of. On these occasions it was, that he first began that bold and constitutional attack on parliamentary corruption, which to this day he is so steadily prosecuting; and breathing then, as now, the sentiments of Independence, with all the energy of classical propriety, gave additional attractions to Patriot Virtue, by the force and eloquence with which he taught her to express her feelings. Of this in particular, we may give the following instance, extracted from an address moved by him, and unanimously adopted, at a meeting of freeholders, on Friday the 30th of April, 1770, at the Mile-end Assembly Room; after a spirited and elaborate recapitulation of grievances, under which the nation had for a series of years been groaning, and many just and indignant reflections on the reception former petitions had met with. "Your Majesty's servants have attacked our liberties in the most vital part: they have torn away the very heart-strings of the constitution, and have made those men the instruments of our destruction, whom the laws have appointed as the immediate guardians of our rights and liberties." Who does not perceive in this, the same bold, energetic spirit which dictated the recent Petition to the House of Commons? and who may not, (if not unbiassed by prejudice) see the stamp of uniformity on the conduct of the man whom faction abused as a model of inconsistent and designing inconsistency? For though Corruption has shifted, or rather extended the theatre of her exertions, and from being confined to the cabinet, has become alike the instrument of all parties, ought we not (conscious as every man must be of the undue influence existing in our House of Commons) to admire the steady Champion who pursues her steps, and, repeating his blows, aims at the destruction of an Hydra, already prepared to swallow up all the scanty remnant of our ancient liberties. As we are now, by the subject of the Middlesex Election, naturally led to reflect on the connexion formerly subsisting between Messrs. Horne and Wilkes, we shall, for the sake of connection, trespass upon chronological order, and make a few remarks on the quarrel which afterwards arose between those popular characters. We know there are some who, even to this day, condemn the conduct of Mr. Horne; and it is in the remembrance of many, that

in



in the year 1771, while this quarrel was pending, Mr. Horne was publicly burnt in effigy by the mobility of London. But the mad fury of a mob in behalf of their idolized demagogue, is not at all times a test of truth. Let any man glance his eye but ever so casually over that controversy; let them but consider the provocations and glaring conduct of Mr. Wilkes, and we believe two opinions can scarcely be entertained upon the subject. Besides, what did Mr. Horne more than detect and declare, what every body is at this time, we believe, clearly convinced to be the true character of this pretended Patriot. That Mr. W. (to whom we owe the suppression of those diabolical and oppressive instruments of tyranny, General Warrants) has been eminently useful to this country, we do not dispute; but when he evidently aimed at making the generosity of the Public subservient to his rapacity and extravagance; when he absolutely forbade the Society of the Bill of Rights to subscribe to the relief of poor Bingley, who was suffering persecution for the publication of W.'s own letter, and sent his agents and Myrmydons to procure a resolution, that nobody else should have any assistance till all his exorbitant wants were satisfied; must we not admire the man who braved all the fury of public persecution, to expose such complicated assurance and ingratitude, and prevent the consequences which factious ambition, supported by popular liberality and credulity, might otherwise have brought upon the nation. The part Mr. H. took came also with peculiar propriety from him, as he had been the first and principal cause of founding the Bill of Rights Society; and was, therefore, particularly called upon to rescue it from rapacious insult. And though, perhaps, it may be allowed that in some few instances he was transported too far; yet the violence of the provocations, and the illiberality of his opponents, will be admitted as ample justification in the eyes of all, who are not predetermined to condemn.

In the mean time Mr. Horne was not exempted from persecutions from other quarters; his spirited letters to Mr. Onslow, Speaker of the House of Commons, published in the Public Advertiser, in July 1769, subjected him to a prosecution for a libel. This was tried April 6th, 1770, before Sir William Blackstone, and ably defended by the famous Serjeant Glynn, but was quashed, in consequence of a defect in form of evidence, which was resolutely contended between Serjeant Glynn, for the defendant, and Serjeant Leigh, on the part of the prosecution; but the Judge determined in favour of the former, advising the latter, however, to move for a new trial, on the ground of a mistake in law. This motion was accordingly made and granted, and a new trial was heard, Aug. 1, at Guildford, in Surrey; when, though the special jury was not summoned to attend before eight o'clock, Lord Mansfield called on the cause at half past seven, and filled up the places of the five absent special jurors with talesmen, a trick which some (perhaps not very rashly), may think looks not a little like packing a jury, especially as similar practices were common at that time. In this new trial Mr. Onslow introduced an additional charge for libellous words spoken by the defendant at a meeting of the Freeholders of Epsom; and although Serjeant Glynn and Mr. Messing ably exposed the impropriety of prosecuting the constituent for expressing his sentiments at a meeting ex-

pressly called to consider the conduct, and give instructions to their representatives, and of punishing a man for interrogating a minister on a report, already current, and thereby affording him an opportunity of clearing himself if innocent; and although Lord Mansfield himself acknowledged the insufficiency of the evidence respecting the Letters; yet the Jury gave a verdict against Mr. H. with 400 *l.* damages: and this, too, according to the directions of Lord Mansfield; though it is a known maxim of our law, that no action for *words* will lie, unless specific damages are proved, which, in the present case was never attempted. On these grounds, a rule was moved for (Nov. 8,) in the Court of Common Pleas, to shew cause why the verdict should not be set aside, which was argued by Serjeant Glynn on the 26th; but the Judges deeming it a point of too much importance to authorise a hasty decision, the question was adjourned over till next term; and, April 17, 1771, the Judges unanimously declared, that no judgment could be given; and the verdict was set aside.

In the mean while Mr. Horne became embroiled in the most vexatious controversy, in which the treachery and malevolence of a popular character, at whose rapacity and duplicity he scorned to connive, could plunge an unsupported individual; and so high did the current of popular fury flow in behalf of his adversary, that though our patriot regularly answered and obviated all the charges brought against him;—and though neither the haughty confidence of Mr. Wilkes condescended, nor the sharp and elegant, but unargumentative rhapsodies of Junius were able to invalidate his charges of corruption against the demagogue, Mr. H. was repaid by the hatred and insults of the people (as we before have noticed), in the year 1771, was burned in effigy.

A man, whose public spirit and conduct has made him a host of enemies, and who yet resolutely perseveres in the public cause, is never long exempted from persecution; and an opportunity accordingly offered in Feb. 1774, for Lord N. Mr. F. and the servile majority of the then House of Commons, to direct their unconstitutional malevolence against Mr. Horne. On Tuesday 10th, Sir E. Ashley presented a bill to enable T. De Grey, Esq. to enclose several common lands and fields in Norfolk. Mr. Sawbridge immediately presented a petition from W. Tooke, Esq. in opposition to this bill, stating that Mr. De G. had not given the usual notice to the inhabitants, and that the inclosure would be highly prejudicial to the petitioner. It was also argued, with great propriety, that to pass the bill, while the title to part of the grounds intended to be inclosed, was litigated between Mr. De Grey and Mr. T. would be an unprecedented indecency. The petition was, however, neglected, and the bill ordered to be read a second time. This uncandid precipitancy produced the next morning a bold attack upon the Speaker (Sir F. Norton) and the House of Commons, printed in the Public Advertiser, and signed, *Strike—but hear*; in consequence of which Mr. Woodfall, the printer, was, on the 14th, had up to the bar of the House. Mr. W. in his defence, charged Mr. Horne with being the author. He was, however, committed to Newgate, and a message was sent to Mr. H. to attend the House on Wednesday the 16th; to which both verbally by the messenger, and by letter to the subscribing clerk, he answered, that he supposed there must be some mistake, as there were many other John Hornes in the city;



city; but that whenever the House should order *him* to attend, he should, with duteous submission, obey. On the 17th he was taken into custody by a serjeant at arms, and brought to the bar; but the evidence of Woodfall (who was an accomplice) being insufficient to criminate him, the subject was adjourned, and Mr. H. unconstitutionally detained in custody till further evidence could be sought among the *compositors* and *printer's devils* of Mr. W.'s office; notwithstanding the sound legal objections of Mr. Duuning, and the animated eloquence of Mr. Burke, who endeavoured to shame the House out of so oppressive a proceeding. When these new witnesses were at length procured, and Mr. H. was a second time arraigned upon an individual charge, nothing however appeared against him; and he was reluctantly dismissed from the fangs of that despotism which hoped to glut its rage in his persecution. But, even at the moment of acquittal, they scrupled not to condemn him to pay the fees of the House—though it had previously been enacted, that no gaoler should demand fees of a prisoner detained upon an accusation upon which he was not found guilty.

The honest indignation which Mr. H. had conceived and entertained against the minister, whose oppressions were awakening the destructive flames of war in our American colonies, was not likely to be much appeased by these personal injuries; and the bloody and fatal affair at Lexington and Concord, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, the 19th of April 1775, precipitating the Americans into unavoidable rebellion, he was stimulated in consequence of a motion made in the Constitutional Society, to insert an advertisement in the papers, for subscriptions to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents, of the American fellow-subjects, *murdered by the King's Troops* in that affray; and afterwards another, thanking the persons who had subscribed, and acknowledging the receipt of 50l. on that account. These advertisements, which he signed with his name at length, and dated as from the Constitutional Society, drew down a prosecution on the printers; and Feb. 11, 1777, three of them were fined in 100l. each, an information been previously filed (June 27) against Mr. H. as the author. Mr. H. was no sooner apprised of this, than he waited on the Attorney General, and told him that he should not pay for a copy, but insisted on its being read to him; after which he informed him that he should plead his own cause. This accordingly he did (July 4), and never was a more spirited and eloquent display of constitutional and rational argument than this trial presents. The oppressive innovations of practice introduced by the Attorney General in the prosecutions for this libel, the vindictive barbarity of these prosecutions in general, and the overbearing and erroneous conduct of the Judge on Mr. H.'s former trial (the remedying of which cost him 200l.) are strongly painted in his introductory animadversions; and his defence, which lasted four hours, is one of the keenest and ablest specimens of forensic elocution in our language. He was however found GUILTY by the Jury: and yet so little was he awed by the terror of the sentence which the Judges held over his head, that he immediately republished his *Massacre of Glenco*, with the avowed design of comparing that detestable transaction with the affair at Lexington. On the 23d of November, Mr. H. (after having been twice before brought up for the same purpose, and



and twice urging forcible reasons in arrest of judgment) received the final sentence of the Court; which was to pay a fine of 200l. be imprisoned for the space of twelve months, and afterwards find security himself in 400l. and two sureties in 200l. each for his good behaviour for two years: a rigorous sentence, which (if we consider the violent provocations given by a corrupt government, and the sympathy almost universally excited by the wrongs of our American brethren, at the time when the advertisement was written) has more the appearance of malignity and personal revenge, than of justice and public conservation.

But the legal persecutions to which our undaunted champion of truth and liberty has been subjected, though of the most public notoriety, are not the most important circumstances of his busy life. Steady from the first moment of his political existence to the present hour, in the grand objects of his pursuit, the reformation of the House of Commons, freedom of election, equalization of representation, and the shortening the duration of parliaments of Great-Britain, he has ever been active, by the most resolute and probable means, to obtain and secure those blessings to the people, without which all other blessings of our boasted constitution must shortly become merely nominal, and the freedom of Britons must expire beneath the accumulating rubbish of rotten boroughs, aristocratic barter, and ministerial influence. And it is evident that to open to himself an opportunity to strike an important blow towards the accomplishment of these aims, and of claiming in such a manner as will force attention, the restoration of part of these fundamental rights, was his sole object in opposing *a late bargain and sale* between the reigning factions of the day, and offering himself a candidate for the city of Westminster. And we venture to prophesy that, whatever may be the persecutions and calumny *he* may personally suffer in the contest, whatever may be the power and malevolence of his enemies—whatever may be the associated interests which may oppose him, and how incompetent soever his individual efforts towards procuring the much wanted redress, may appear, in the eyes of those who know not the virtues inherent in perseverance wedded with such powers of mind, that directly or indirectly he will, at least, accomplish *some part* of his design. It is worthy of remark, that at many of the public meetings (particularly at the *quintuple alliance*) where parliamentary reformation has been the subject of discussion, Mr. H. has frequently met with his grand antagonist, the *arch mock patriot* Mr. F. but never was able to extort any direct answer or opinion, upon a topic which every *real* friend to his country would necessarily make the first object of his attention; and it was his evasion of this important point, which occasioned this once-boasted *Man of the People* to be so completely huffed off the hustings during the last election. A day or two after this, however, Mr. Sheridan came to town: and as by an *unaccountable* concurrence of events, the bludgeon-men at the same instant made their appearance, the knocking down of thirty or forty people, and the absolute murder of one, compelled the populace to restrain their indignation.

But to return from this digression. The necessary limits of this article will not permit us to enumerate the various publications of the author

thor of *the Diversions of Purley*, which have appeared with and without his name: and many are too generally known to make it at this time requisite. But we must observe that a pamphlet of the latter description, entitled *Facts*, had a very considerable effect in exposing the errors and enormities of Lord N.'s administration, and by its very rapid and extensive circulation, hastened, in no inconsiderable degree, the fall of that unpopular minister. This pamphlet was written in consequence of a consultation with the Marquis of Lansdown; but when it was finished that nobleman altered his mind, and requested that it might not be published. The author, however, bluntly replied, that since he had written the work, he never entertained a moment's doubt of its propriety, and his Lordship must therefore excuse his not complying with the request. The pamphlet was accordingly published; and the Marquis and the author have never since had any intercourse together.

It is not necessary to enter into the business of the Westminster election, the facts relative to that transaction being so recent, and so amply related in the Imperial Magazine for June and July. We shall therefore here close our brief sketch of the public life of this patriot, by observing, that so far from being (as he has been represented) attached to the licentious principles of the *frantic* patriots of a neighbouring kingdom, grown drunk with the unrectified spirits of an half-prepared liberty, he was foremost to warn his countrymen from imitating practices we have no necessity to adopt: witness his motion at the meeting for celebrating the anniversary of the French Revolution, where he was *liberally* hissed for rising to express those sentiments, which not a person present, when he had delivered them, could help approving.

Mr. H's original design was to come to the bar, for which reason very early in life he entered himself a student of the Temple; but having an early offer of the living of Brentford, he changed his mind, and took to the Church; though this profession was never congenial to his disposition, and he spent much of his time on the Continent, leaving an able curate on his living. Nor was he very constant in the pulpit, even after his return: he therefore, when he found himself so deeply involved in politics, turned his thoughts once more to the bar, and resigning his gown about 1772, applied in the year 1779 to be called to the bar; but was rejected by a curious manœuvre of the offended powers. After this he made a second application, with no better success, being rejected by the casting voice of Mr. Bearcroft; whom a great law character (unable to forgive the severity with which he had been treated—because he knew that severity to be deserved), posted to the Temple-hall, for the express purpose of preventing his admission, skill, and perseverance.

Shortly after this, Mr. H. at the particular request of W. Tooke Esq. whose petition we formerly noticed, took the name of that gentleman by an act of parliament, and by that name is now principally known. This may be considered as a kind of adoption, and is certainly an evidence of friendship of which our patriot was not unworthy, since his exertions evidently saved the estate from being swallowed by the artifices of law, at a time when the associated interests of the C. J. de Grey, and



his Brother, and the Attorney General, intimidated all the bar from making proper exertions in behalf of justice. Towards this effect, also, the libel for which Mr. H. was examined before the house, eminently contributed, by drawing the attention of the public upon the subject, and thereby intimidating the House from proceeding with a Bill, which would have plundered the gentleman, whose petition they so shamefully neglected, of his just, though litigated, property. Nor did the affair end here; for Mr. Dodswell, in consequence moved and carried several resolutions now on the Journals of the House, to prevent, for the future, all such precipitate and infamous proceedings.

Mr. H. Tooke is, at this time, upwards of fifty; but, from his excellent stamina, is likely to live to prosecute, and see (we hope) the accomplishment of his public-spirited views. In his private deportment he is affable and facetious, and *communicative*—so far as it interferes not with his public views and intentions. He is a warm friend, and an open enemy; zealous and well qualified to instruct the inexperienced; quick to discover, and eager to encourage merit; and, tho' a despiser of servility and flattery, proud to bear in memory the slightest efforts either of public or private friendship, and eager to return them with real kindnesses. Of the powers of his mind, and the extent of his erudition, it would be presumption in the author of these pages to endeavour to give an adequate idea. As a linguist, a grammarian, and a critic, he stands unrivalled. His writings on popular subjects are in the hands of every one who reads at all; and their force and accumen have been equally admired by the *friends*, and felt by the *foes*, of real liberty. His eloquence is clear, deliberate, keen, and sarcastic: his periods are short and pithy; his sense compressed, but perspicuous; his words are chosen with the most discriminating nicety, and arranged with the utmost simplicity: every sentence is a volume, and (when he would be felt) every epithet is a dagger. Of his undaunted perseverance and fortitude, the foregoing narrative is sufficiently descriptive; and the intrepidity with which, accompanied only by the constable of the night, he seized the murderers (one of whom for his gigantic figure, was ironically called Infant) who had headed the rioters at Brentford, even in the midst of their myrmidons at the Shakespeare Tavern, is a clear proof, that his personal courage is equal to his mental resolution.

From the year 1768, when his individual exertions carried Mr. W's election for Middlesex, after his most decided rejection at London, to the present hour, one year and a half only, (during which time he wrote his *Diversions of Purley*) have passed unmarked by some popular struggle, either of his person or his pen, in behalf of the rights and liberties of his country. Of the applause due to this indefatigable industry, faction and the bias of prejudice will undoubtedly at present occasion various opinions; but, for our part, we avow a principled conviction of the justice of his sentiments, and the genuine influence of public virtue evident in his conduct; and though perhaps it may be objected, that too much of the irritable has been in some instances distinguishable in his composition, in our opinion, the provocations he has met with, and above all the temper and abuses of the times, not only plead his excuse, but substantiate his justification.



# BIOGRAPHIA ADDENDA.

[No. VII.]

## Mr. THOMAS PAINE.

**M**R. Thomas Paine was born at Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, on the 29th of January, 1737. His father, Joseph Paine, was a small, but reputable farmer, of that sect called Quakers, and who occasionally followed the trade of a stay-maker. His mother's name was Frances Cocke; she was the daughter of an attorney at Thetford, and a member of the established church.

Young Paine was educated at the free-school of Thetford, chiefly at the expence of his mother's relations. While at this place, he was deemed a boy of considerable acuteness, but of an unsettled disposition. His pursuits, however, were directed rather to objects of utility than ornament. He was instructed principally in reading, writing, and cyphering; and at the age of thirteen he left school, in order to learn his father's trade, for which he never shewed much inclination, though he worked at it six years.

In the year 1757, at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Paine came up to London, which he quitted the year following, for Dover, where he worked almost a twelvemonth with Mr. Grace, a respectable stay-maker of that town.

In 1759 he established himself as a master stay-maker at Sandwich.—Here he became enamoured of a young woman, named Mary Lambert, the daughter of an exciseman, who had been dismissed for misconduct, and whom he married on the 27th of September the same year. If we are to believe the voice of fame, his usage of Mrs. Paine was far from being consistent with the *Rights of Humanity*; but, as we wish not to throw out reflections upon any character without sufficient grounds, we shall leave the examination of this matter to future biographers. We may, however, venture to say, that family embarrassments obliged Mr. Paine to remove to Margate; but his residence there was not of long duration. Having disposed of his goods, he once more mingled

gled with the busy throng in the metropolis, and being desirous of qualifying himself for the office of an exciseman, a place which he wished to obtain, he repaired, in July, 1761, to his father's house, in order that he might prosecute in quiet privacy the great object of his future course.

After fourteen months study and application, Mr. Paine was established in the excise in December 1762, by the interest of Mr. Cuckfedge, the recorder of Thetford. Soon after he was sent as a supernumerary to Grantham and in 1764, he was employed to watch the smugglers of Alford, a town in Lincolnshire, situated at the distance of twenty miles from Boston, and of six from the sea. How far his conduct in this situation was marked with propriety, we know not, but it is certain that in August, 1765, he was dismissed from his office.

Mr. Paine was now reduced to great distress; but the liberality of his friends enabled him to subsist with some comfort till the beginning of July, 1766, when he was restored to the excise. As mere restoration, however, neither brought him present employment, nor the necessary supplies, he was obliged to enter into the service of Mr. Noble, who kept a large academy in Leman-street, Goodman's-fields. Here he continued till Christmas, 1766, when he quitted Mr. Noble, and went to live in the same capacity with Mr. Gardnor, the master of a reputable school at Kensington. With this gentleman he lived only three months; but whether he preached in Moorfields, and in various places of England after leaving Mr. Gardnor's service, as some have pretended, we will not venture to determine.

In March, 1768, he was, after some delays, sent to be an excise officer at Lewes, in Sussex, where he lodged with Mr. Samuel Olive, a tobacconist and shop-keeper of that place. On the death of Mr. Olive, Mr. Paine opened the shop in his own name as a grocer, and in 1771 married the daughter of his old landlord. A design being formed about this time, by the excise officers throughout the kingdom, of applying to Parliament for a consideration of the state of their salaries, a contribution was made for the common cause, and our author, we are told, engaged to draw up their case, which made its appearance in 1772. This is an octavo pamphlet of about twenty pages, exclusive of the introduction, and is divided into two heads: *The State of the Salary of Officers,*



*the Officers of the Excise; and Thoughts on the Corruption arising from the Poverty of Excise Officers.* Four thousand copies were printed by Mr. William Lee, of Lewes; but those intended for the Members of Parliament were not all distributed. Mr. Paine, on this occasion, wrote also, as is said, *A Letter concerning the Nottingham Officers*, which was printed on a folio sheet; and likewise another letter enforcing his case, on a folio page; but though our author exerted himself in London throughout the winter of 1773, all these efforts ended in no application to Parliament.

In the year 1774, misfortunes crowded fast upon him. Pecuniary embarrassments once more obliged him to retire to some place of shelter, where he might be secured from the harpies of the law. Troubles seldom come single. As he kept a grocer's shop, and dealt in exciseable articles, such as tobacco, he was suspected of unfair practices. Whether there were any grounds for such a suspicion, it is not our business to enquire, but in April, 1774, he was again dismissed from the service of government; and though he petitioned for restoration, his application produced no effect.

On the 24th of May, 1774, Mr. Paine entered into articles of separation with his wife, and soon after came up to London, where the late George Lewis Scott, Esq. a commissioner of excise, recommended him strongly to Dr. Franklin, as a person who could, at that epoch, be very useful in America. In consequence of this introduction, our author embarked for that country, and arrived at Philadelphia in the winter of 1774, a few months before the battle of Lexington, which was fought in April the year following.

Mr. Paine's first employment in the new world, was that of being shopman to Mr. Aitkin, a very industrious bookseller, in Philadelphia. After this, when foreign supplies were stopped, he commenced chemist, and undertook, in November, 1775, to furnish the Congress with saltpetre.

On the 10th of January, 1776, he published an octavo pamphlet, of sixty pages, entitled *Common Sense*, which was intended to support the measures of Congress, and which was attacked by Dr. William Smith, President of the College of Pennsylvania, under the signature of Cato. In the *Pennsylvania Journal*, for December the 19th, of the same year, he published the *Crisis*, which was continued periodically, as the necessity of affairs required, in order



order to animate the hopes of the Americans; and for these services, he was appointed secretary to the *Committee of Congress for Foreign Affairs*, by which he enjoyed the correspondence of the celebrated Dr. Franklin. Having, however, through the channel of a newspaper, disclosed some matters respecting the intrigues of the French Court, which he confidentially knew from foreign correspondence, the *Sieur Gerard* complained to the Congress, and Mr. Paine, finding that his conduct had greatly offended that body, gave in his resignation on the 8th of February, 1779. On the 16th of the same month, a motion was made in Congress for dismissing him from an office which he no longer held; and though there were fourteen members for it to thirteen against it, the motion was lost, there being a tie upon the States who alone could vote of five to five.

Soon after this, Mr. Paine was made Master of Arts by the University of Pennsylvania, and when the *American Philosophical Society* was revived by the legislature of that province, in 1780, he was chosen a member, and had the satisfaction of signing the act of revival, as clerk of the General Assembly.

In 1782, when the Abbè Raynal had published his *History of the American Revolution*, Mr. Paine addressed a letter to him on the subject of that pamphlet. On the 29th of October, 1782, he addressed *A Letter to the Earl of Shelburne*, respecting an assertion made by him in the House of Lords, "That when Great Britain should acknowledge American independence, the sun of Britain's glory would set for ever."—And on the 19th of April, 1783, the same day that a cessation of hostilities took place, he published his last Crisis, which was soon printed as a pamphlet, under the title of *Paine's Thoughts on the Peace*. On account of these, and his other exertions in behalf of the United States, New York conferred on him some forfeited lands at New Rochelle and Pennsylvania gave him a present of five hundred pounds\*.

As

\*In the Maryland Journal, dated December 31st, 1784, there appeared the following article: "On the 6th instant, his Excellency John Dickenson, President of the State of Pennsylvania, sent a message to the Assembly, respecting Mr. Thomas Paine, the author of *Common Sense*, and other political pieces, strongly recommending to their notice his services and situation, and concluding in the subsequent words: We confide that you will then feel that the attention of Pennsylvania is

As his pen was no longer of much use to the United States, our author left America, set sail for France in the autumn of 1786, and arrived at Paris in the beginning of the year following, carrying with him the model of a bridge, which was shewn to the Academy of Sciences. From Paris he came over to England in September, 1787, thirteen years after his first departure for Philadelphia, and before the end of the year he published his *Prospects on the Rubicon; or, An Investigation into the Causes and Consequences of the Politics to be agitated at the meeting of Parliament*. This is an octavo tract, of sixty-eight pages, which treats of the state of the nation.

During 1788, Mr. Paine was chiefly occupied in the construction of his bridge. For this end he made a journey to Rotherham, in Yorkshire, in order to superintend the casting of the iron by the ingenious Mr. Walker. It was erected chiefly at the charge of that respectable citizen, but the project had cost our author a large sum, which was mostly furnished by Mr. Whitefide, the American merchant. This bridge of cast iron is one hundred and ten feet in the span, five feet from the spring, twenty-two feet in breadth, and still is, or lately was, exhibited publicly at Paddington for a shilling.

Mr. Whitefide becoming a bankrupt, the assignees, who found six hundred and twenty pounds charged against our author, caused him to be arrested at the White Bear, Piccadilly, in October, 1789. From the White Bear he was carried to the house of Mr. Armstrong, in Carey-street, where he was confined for three weeks. He now applied to Messrs. Clegget and Murdock, two respectable American merchants, who became his bail; and upon his paying down four hundred and sixty pounds, and giving his note for one hundred and sixty more, he was set at liberty in November following.

When the appearance of Mr. Burke's *Thoughts on the French Revolution* excited the attention of the public, and called forth an host of antagonists, Mr. Paine entered the lists also, and produced his celebrated pamphlet, entitled the *Rights of Man*. This work

drawn towards Mr. Paine, by motives equally grateful to the human heart, and reputable to the public; and that you will join with us in opinion, that a suitable acknowledgment of his eminent services, and a proper provision for the continuance of them in an independent manner, should be made a part of this state."

being



being submitted to the revifal of Mr. Brand Hollis, was printed in February laft, for Mr. J. Johnson, in St. Paul's Church-yard; but as it contained many ftrong things againft the Britifh government, that refpectable bookseller, by the advice of his friends, declined to fell it. A few copies of it, however, in its original ftate, were privately difperfed, and after being again fubjected to a thorough revifion and amputation, it was published in March following, by J. S. Jordan, in Fleet-ftreet. Without entering into a difcuffion of the author's political principles, we are free to confeff, that this pamphlet difplays great ftrength of intellect, and however we may diflent from many things advanced in it, we cannot help thinking it entitled to a confiderable degree of praife. Had Mr. Paine been lefs violent, its effects might have been much greater; but by the manner in which he expreffes himfelf, and particularly with regard to monarchical government, it appears to us that he has materially injured the caufe which he meant to ferve.

In the month of May laft, Mr. Paine went over to France, from which he returned a fhort time before the celebration of the French Revolution at the Crown and Anchor. But whatever may have been the caufe, he was not prefent among the company who were affembled upon that occafion. He has, however, undertaken the defence of republicanifm, his attachment to which feems immutably fixed, and has thrown out a challenge to the Abbè Seyes, to controvert his principles if he can. His letter to the Abbè, dated Paris, July 8th, 1791, is as follows:

“ During my preparations for a journey to England, I read in the *Moniteur* of Wednesday laft a letter, in which you give to all true Republicans a challenge on the fubject of Government, and offer yourfelf for the defence of what is called a monarchic opinion againft the republican fyftem.

“ I accept your challenge with pleafure, and have fuch confidence in the fuperiority of the republican fyftem, over that nullity of a fyftem called monarchy, that I engage myfelf not to exceed the extent of fifty pages in my part of the controverfy, though I leave to you the liberty of taking whatever latitude you pleafe.

“ My refpect for your moral and literary character will be a fufficient affurance to you for my candour in the difcuffion; but  
though



though I propose to conduct myself in it with as much seriousness as good faith, I ought to mention, that I do not preclude myself from the liberty of ridiculing as they deserve, any monarchical absurdities which may occasionally present themselves to my mind.

“ I do not mean by republicanism, that which bears the name in Holland, or in some Italian states. I consider it simply as a government by representation, a government founded upon the principles of the “ Declaration of Rights ;” principles with which many parts of the French constitution are at variance. The French and the American Declaration of Rights are but one and the same thing in principles, and almost in expressions ; and this is the republicanism which I undertake to defend, against what is called monarchy and aristocracy.

“ I observe with pleasure, that we are already agreed upon one point—the *extreme danger of a civil list of thirty millions*. I cannot conceive the reason why one part of the government should be supported with such extravagant profusion, while the other receives scarcely sufficient for its plainest wants.

“ This disproportion, at once dangerous and dishonourable, furnishes to one the means of corruption, and places the other in a situation to be corrupted. In America we make but little difference in this respect between the legislative and the executive parts of government ; but the first is much better treated than in France.

“ But however I may consider the subject of which you, Sir, have proposed the discussion, I am anxious that you should have no doubt of my entire respect for yourself. I should also add, that I am not the personal enemy of kings ; on the contrary, no person can be more sincere than myself in wishing to see them in the happy and honourable state of plain individuals. But I am the declared, open, and intrepid enemy of that which is called monarchy, and I am so on account of principles which nothing can alter or corrupt ;—my predilection for humanity, my anxiety for the dignity and honour of the human species, my disgust at seeing men directed by infants, and governed by brutes, and the horror inspired by all the evils which monarchy has scattered over the earth, by the misery, the exactions, the wars, and the massacres with which it has wounded humanity.

“ In

"In short, it is against the *whole hell of monarchy* that I have declared war.

"THOMAS PAINE."

This letter produced a reply from the Abbè Seyes, in which, after some ingenious observations on the difference of the two systems, monarchy and republicanism, the author says, "I finish this letter by a remark, with which I ought to have begun it. My letter, inserted in the *Moniteur* of July the 6th, does not announce that I have leisure to enter into a controversy with republican *policrates*. My words are these: 'I shall, perhaps, soon have 'time to develope this question.' Why soon? Because I am persuaded that the National Assembly will in a short time put the last hand to their work, and that it is upon the very point of being finished.—Till then it is impossible for me to leave my daily occupations, to fill the journals with any sort of discussion."

Mr. Paine returned from France, 13th July, 1791, previous to the Anniversary of the French Revolution, he was at the Society on the 4th of November, where he then was a welcome guest, and thanks were given him for his *Rights of Man*, when his health was drank; Mr. P. in return gave *the Revolution of the World*. From this festive scene Mr. P. retired to Fetter-lane, where he conversed but with few, except Mr. Horne Tooke and Mr. Chapman, who was employed to print the second part of the *Rights of Man*, at whose hospitable table he used to spend the evening, till on the 16th of January, 1792; Mr. P. with his usual attention to the *Rights of Women*, insulted Mrs. Chapman—the Printer then turned the Author out of doors, without regarding his *Dignity* or his *Independance*, exclaiming that he had no more *Principle than a Post, or Religion than a Russian*; he then returned the whole of his Papers, which was now transferred to Mr. Crowther, who printed the Second Part, of which 5000 was sold.

6 MA 57

Mr. Paine acknowledges, the profits arising from the sale of his *Rights of Man*, has produced upwards of One Thousand Pounds, which he has directed to the Society for Constitutional information, to apply it to such purposes they shall see proper. His letter in the *Argus*, is dated July 6, 1792. Several thousand impressions are struck off, on an inferior paper, and distributed at 6d. each part. He has also wrote two letters to Lord Onslow, and one to Mr. Henry Dundas, which are wrote in a very spirited manner.

Biography treats only of the past; prophecy can alone reveal the future; what may be our Author's fate, 'tis impossible to foretell.

F I N I S.

